

THE KHALIFATE OF THE WEST



H.S.M. ABDUL AZIZ, LATE SULTAN OF MOROCCO.



THE MOORISH AMBASSADOR TO ENGLAND
IN 1876

[Frontispiece.

THE KHALIFATE OF THE WEST

BEING A GENERAL DESCRIPTION
OF MOROCCO

BY

DONALD MACKENZIE

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SOCIETY FOR ZANZIBAR, EAST AFRICA, AND THE RED SEA

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To
HENRY GURNEY, ESQUIRE

WHOSE KINDNESS AND COUNSEL HELPED ME TO BRING

THESE PAGES BEFORE THE PUBLIC

AND WHOSE UNTIRING ZEAL IS ALWAYS EXERTED

ON BEHALF OF THE MOORS

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED BY HIS SINCERE FRIEND

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

It has been in my mind for some time past to write a book on Morocco giving my impressions of that country which have been gathered from a long connection with it, and which the following pages will unfold. I explained my ideas to Mr. Henry Gurney, who very kindly gave me every encouragement in his power to carry out the work. There was reason to think that such a book would be accepted at the present time, on account of the increasing interest that is taken in Morocco. It is of considerable importance that the British public should clearly understand the state of affairs of that country, and that it should urge on with all its power the reformation of the Moorish government, and remove the terrible cruelties that are carried on under it, which to my mind are nothing short of a disgrace to us as a Christian nation. If these pages will in any way further that object I shall be fully satisfied.

In the performance of my task I have received help towards this work from the following gentlemen: Henry Gurney, Esq., Cornelius Hanbury, Esq., E. Wright Brooks, Esq., J.P., W. A. Albright, Esq., Travers Buxton, Esq., M.A., Francis Rickett, Esq., J.P., and B. R. Balfour, Esq., J.P. I beg also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Harold Lee, Esq., J.P., of Liverpool, for looking over these pages before publication, also for photos received from Mr. Henry Gurney

and Miss Paul, to Mr. Charles H. Rosher, C.E., late engineer to H.S.M. Abdul Aziz, the late Sultan of Morocco, for a plan of Fez. I have to acknowledge in this place the courtesy with which the Right Hon. Sir E. Grey, Bart., M.P., supplied me with such information as I required, and also to Herbert E. White, Esq., H.B. Majesty's Consul at Tangier, for information regarding the commerce of Morocco G. T. Abrines, Esq., of Tangier, the proprietor of *El Maghrib al Aksa*. I have taken interesting extracts from a memoir of the life of the late Sir John Hay, which will be found in these pages. I have perused *Descripción Historica de Marruecos*, by Rdo. P. Fr. Manuel Pablo Castellanos, who gives an interesting description of the work of the Franciscan Friars. I have had the advantage of reading, through the kindness of Mr. Gurney, newspaper cuttings and private letters received from Morocco, also the perusal of Mr. Gurney's own Diaries. These and many other kindnesses from many quarters I gratefully acknowledge. I have added, by way of Appendix to this book, a translation, for the first time, of the travels of Joachim Gatell and Gerhard Rholf, which I thought might prove of interest.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

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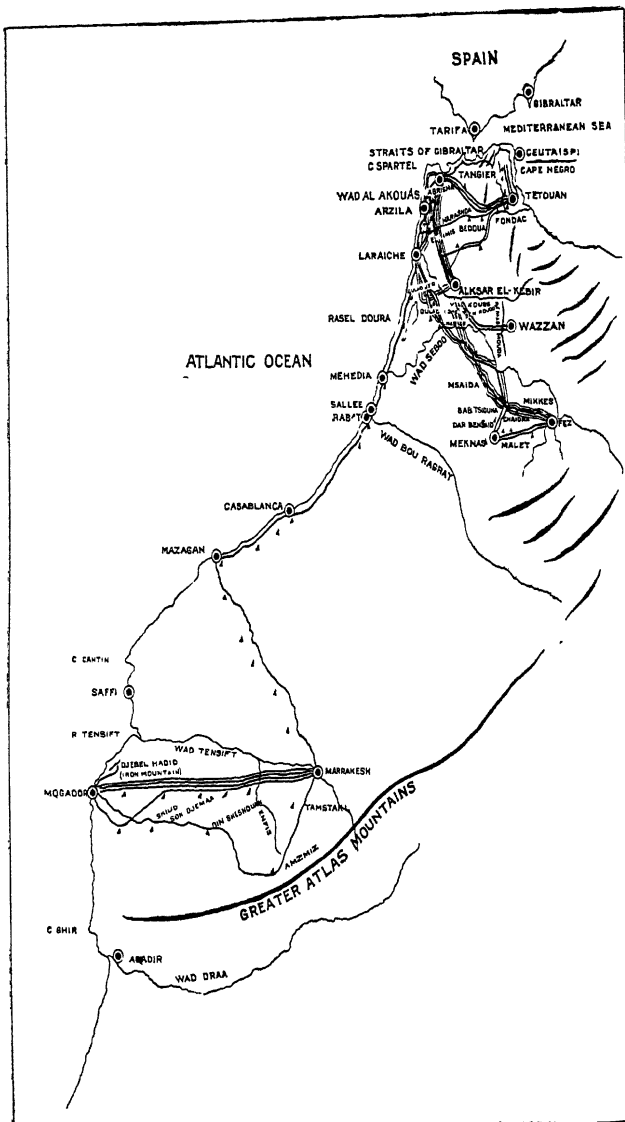
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MAP OF MOROCCO.

The Khalifate of the West

CHAPTER I

THE SICK MAN OF THE EAST AND THE SICK MAN OF THE WEST

THERE was a Sick Man of the East who had for many years occupied the serious attention of the statesmen and diplomatists of Europe. They were jealous of each other, and their suspicions prolonged the life of the Sick Man. They often came to the bedside to witness his dissolution, but when the end seemed to be near life revived in a remarkable manner. The diplomatists had a great interest in him. Each of them claimed his inheritance, or a good part of it; the Sick Man struggled on for years in the midst of many internal and external difficulties; his people suffered terrible wrongs at the hands of his ministers without redress. The Sick Man himself was by many held responsible for the atrocities that were taking place in his dominions. Some gave him the title of the Great Assassin and Abdul the Damned. Little did the diplomatists, with all their wisdom and forethought, know that a secret and mighty influence was silently but surely at work which baffled their skill and even that of the Sick Man himself, with all his craft.

Many years ago a faithful band of Americans

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came over to Syria with the simple object of opening a school which would in every way be unsectarian. The fanatical Mohammedans, who knew the bloody strifes that took place between the Christian sects in their own country, did not welcome these new arrivals. On the contrary, they stoned them out of their village ; but the Americans were neither discouraged nor dismayed. They came back again to the same village, and were, after a time, able to purchase a piece of ground on which to build a school. In time it rose to be a great institution, reflecting great lustre on Syria. These missionaries did not interfere with the creed of any one, Jews, Greeks, Catholics, Armenians, Druses, and Mohammedans were equally welcomed ; an assurance was given that their creeds would not be interfered with unless they wished it. They gave their attention to education, and Christian teaching if desired. These methods in time recommended themselves to the Mohammedans ; all creeds came to their schools.

Members of the Society of Friends came also on the scene and established schools on the same principle, free from sectarianism, which has been a drawback in all educational and missionary effort. I may here add that the Society of Friends have always been in favour of education as one of the most powerful levers for raising fallen humanity to civilisation and usefulness. They are small in number ; but I think it is not an exaggeration to say that they have exerted greater influence amongst all classes of the community than any other body of Christians. They have no sectarian principles to hamper them in their good work.

These agencies turned out excellent scholars, who were fitted to undertake any duties. The Turkish Government was not slow in recognising the value of these scholars, and they were eagerly sought to fill offices which were formerly held by ignorant and dishonest men, who were by no means

a credit to the State. In the course of time these intelligent scholars influenced in various ways all classes of the community with new ideas of liberty, progress, and honesty, culminating in the extraordinary revolution which quickly removed the Sick Man from the position he had disgraced for so many years, and set up a representative government in Turkey, without the horrors of bloodshed which usually followed such great and important changes. This extraordinary peaceable revolution, so quickly and silently brought about, has gained the admiration of the whole civilised world.

We will now turn our attention to the Sick Man of the West, he being the nominal ruler of Morocco. The Sick Man of the West has suffered for many years from chronic disorders of various kinds, but he has not created the same attention as his brother of the East. The position he occupies is not quite so important as that of the ruler of Turkey.

For many years there were only three Powers who were interested in the dominions of the Sultan of Morocco, who is known as the Sick Man of the West: England, France, and Spain—England, because of the commerce, and Gibraltar, which stands opposite; France, because the colony of Algeria adjoins Morocco on the east; Spain, on account of the period when she drove the Moors out of Granada in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. Through this act she thought herself the true heir to Morocco. The jealousies between these rival Powers have kept Morocco in a state of semi-independence and in the worst state of barbarism, and also in a chronic state of disorder. Its rulers have been for many years able to oppress the inhabitants in the most terrible manner, without an effective check from any of the Christian nations. The condition of Morocco has never been creditable to the Powers of Europe, and I shall endeavour in these pages to

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give a general view of the whole position. I have no intention to write a history of Morocco ; I shall simply give a general account that may enable any one to grasp the situation as it presents itself to my mind and that of others.

CHAPTER II

THE SITUATION OF MOROCCO, AND A GENERAL RETROSPECTIVE SUMMARY

MOROCCO, the ancient Mauritania, is situated at the very threshold of European civilisation. It occupies the north-western corner of the great African Continent. Its northern coast is washed by the Mediterranean Sea, and is within thirty miles of Gibraltar, the British stronghold. On the east it touches Algeria, while its western shores are bounded by the Atlantic, and on the south are the Sahara and the great Atlas chain of mountains, which reach a height of over 14,000 feet, and whose summits are in some parts covered with perpetual snow. Morocco has been successively ruled by Carthaginians and Romans. The ruins of towns belonging to those great nations of antiquity may be found in many parts of the Moorish Empire in a fair state of preservation, and no doubt, as the country is opened out, interesting discoveries will be made. The Arabs were the last who became the rulers of Morocco. Soon after the death of the prophet Mohammed they invaded the whole of Northern Africa. The banner of the Star and Crescent carried everything before it, and the great wave of Mohammedan enthusiasm swept along like a mighty avalanche which nothing could resist. The disciples of St. Cyprian of Carthage forsook his teaching and embraced with ardour Islamism, which in time became the religion of the native races.

The Arabs found in Morocco material for military service of a very superior order. The Berbers, or the

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great Celtic races who were the aborigines, were brave and warlike, and it was with these fine troops that they threatened the independence of Western Europe.

Morocco has been the theatre of great events in the history of the world: it was here that European civilisation and power first asserted its supremacy over that of Africa for ever. Here the Arabs, soon after their arrival, founded the Khalifate of the West, which rose to greater splendour and power than that of the East.

The first advance of the Moors into Europe took place in the year 710, when a Moorish general named Tarif entered Spain with a small reconnoitring party, landing at the place still named after him. He plundered one or two towns, and then returned to Africa to make his report. The following year a much larger force, almost entirely composed of Berbers, was despatched into Spain under the command of a famous Moorish general named Tarik. He landed at Gibraltar, and built the first fortress at that place, which was destined in after-ages to become England's great stronghold. Making Gibraltar his base of operations for the conquest of Spain, he poured his troops into that country and carried everything before him. Such was the success attending the Moorish arms that the Governor of Africa wrote to the Khalif of the East: "O Commander of the Faithful, these are not common conquests; they are like the meeting of the nations at the Day of Judgment."

In a few years the Moors conquered all Spain, and carried their victorious arms into the south of France, capturing several important cities. In 732 Abd er Rahman, the Moorish Governor, marched at the head of the largest Mohammedan army that had yet trod the plains of the Continent, and penetrated as far as Tours, where he was met and defeated by Charles Martel and his brave Franks. So decisive

was the defeat inflicted on the Moors on this occasion that they never again attempted to penetrate farther into France; but, on the other hand, their resistance was so stout and determined that Charles Martel did not think it wise or prudent to pursue his success any further. Martel's great victory at Tours set a limit for ever to Mohammedan invasion in the West. In the same manner John Sobieski, the brave king of Poland, freed the northern and central portions of the Continent from the dominion of the Turks by his memorable victory under the walls of Vienna in the year 1683, and it is to these two great warriors that Europe owes its deliverance from the Mohammedan yoke.

Spain was under Moorish dominion for nearly eight hundred years. Ruling with moderation and wisdom, Christians and Jews had full liberty to enjoy their own religions peacefully, thus setting an example to Europe of a civilised and enlightened State. Her extensive provinces yielded, under the skill and industry of her conquerors (fostered by a paternal government), abundant harvests. Great cities sprang up all round, whose names alone now remain to commemorate the glories of the past. The population increased at an astonishing rate.

Europe became indebted to her Mohammedan invaders for the first lessons in the sciences and learning. Colleges were founded, and extensive libraries formed which were open to the students of all nations. Literary pursuits were encouraged. Through the successive efforts of the Moorish rulers, the studies of the sciences were introduced into their States and continued to flourish to a later period in Spain than in the East. The mechanical arts and manufactures were likewise carried to a considerable perfection. The Moors introduced the use of writing-paper into Europe, also our figures which have been so useful in the civilised world. Gunpowder, which has become such a powerful factor in modern

warfare, was improved and said to have been first used by them in war. They were probably the most enlightened people of that age.

At last the tide of misfortune and disaster commenced ; the sun of their prosperity began to go down. Their armies slowly but surely receded before those of the Christians, until at last their remaining stronghold was taken by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492. The standard of the Cross waved victoriously on the vermilion towers of the Alhambra. Thus ended Moorish dominion over Spain, which had cast such splendour and lustre upon the history of that country. The monuments of their greatness still remain as the wonder and admiration of succeeding ages.

Then followed a period of darkness, desolation, and persecution, which has left an indelible stain on the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella and their successors. Thousands of Moors who refused to embrace Christianity were handed over to the tender mercies of the Holy Inquisition, by whose orders they were tortured and put to death. But as neither force nor persecution was able to make them sincere Christians, the Moors, to the number of 800,000, were conveyed to the shores of Africa. With their departure all that was great, glorious, and prosperous in that country perished, and the once populous cities fell into ruin and decay. The arts and manufactures which were by them carried to such perfection languished and almost disappeared. The fertile provinces, so productive during the Moorish occupation, were abandoned to desolation. It took upwards of a hundred years to expel all the Moors from Spain, and during that period over three millions of them were banished ; the last great expulsion took place in 1610. It was with many bitter lamentations that the last of the Moors bade farewell for ever to the shores of their beloved Andalusia. They, however, comforted themselves with a hope—never to be realised—that



GROUP OF MOORISH GENTLEMEN.

they would once more return to Spain ; they are even said to have carried away the title-deeds of their properties and the keys of their houses.

An Arab chronicler mournfully closes thus the last chapter of the history of the Moors in Spain : " That the Almighty was not pleased to grant them the victory, so they were overcome and slain on all sides, till at last they were driven forth from the land of Andalusia, the which calamity came to pass in our own days, in the year of the Flight, 1017 [or in the year of our Lord 1639]. Verily, to God belong lands, dominions, and He giveth them to whom He will."

The banishment of the Moors was actuated solely by a spirit of intolerance and religious fanaticism. The terrible cruelties inflicted upon them after the Conquest until they were finally expelled, created amongst them a deep feeling of hatred against all Christians, which exists to the present day. As a matter of policy the expulsion of the Moors was the most injudicious step the Spaniards ever took, as they were by these acts deprived of the most industrious and enlightened portion of the population. After their departure Spain sank into a state of stagnation and degradation, from which she has not recovered. Not only did their departure inflict irretrievable injury on the future prosperity of Spain, but it led to the gradual sinking of the Moors themselves into a state of utter barbarism. They are now only a very imperfect shadow of what they once were, and only a few of their arts have been preserved, through the vicissitudes of ages, as a memorial of the past.

Having briefly sketched the rise and fall of Moorish dominion in Spain, we will now follow the Moors in their humiliation and degradation into their native home in Morocco, which now became the seat of the representative of the Khalifate of Cordova. Even here the Moors were not permitted to remain in

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peace. The Portuguese took possession of all their ports and held them for a considerable period. Charles II. of England received Tangier with Catherine of Portugal ; but this valuable and important possession was given up voluntarily by England in 1688. In time the Sultan of Morocco regained possession of all his ports. From that period to the present Europe appears to have troubled itself very little about the Moors.

It is difficult to conceive that the wretched, dirty specimens of humanity one meets in the streets of Tangier and other towns of Morocco can be the descendants of the Moors of Spain who had formed such a glorious epoch in Spanish history.

The present Sultan of Morocco is now the representative of the ancient and powerful Khalifate of Cordova, and considers himself the Commander of the Faithful. He is descended from Muley Ali, whose branch are not considered so holy as that of Muley Idris, whose line is now represented by the Grand Shereef of Wazan.

The land nominally under the sway of the Sultan comprises the most important portion of Northern Africa. It abounds in valuable minerals, and the soil is of the richest description ; the climate is everything that can be desired, and well suited for Europeans. There are several large rivers passing through this country, which could be navigated for hundreds of miles inland, but at present they are utilised neither for traffic nor irrigation. The whole country is traversed by the great Atlas chain of mountains. The grandest sight I ever saw while staying in Morocco City, which is situated at the foot of these mountains, was the view of these peaks at sunrise and sunset from the top of my house.

It seems strange that an enormous territory like Morocco, naturally so rich and within five days' steam of England, should have been permitted to remain so long in its present barbarous condition. Immense

tracts of uncultivated land may be met with all over the interior ; indeed, the whole Empire appears to be thinly peopled and the greatest part is in a state of desolation. I have often been struck, while riding through this country, by the remarkable richness of the soil, which in some places reaches a depth of fifteen feet. What a splendid place for British settlers so near our own doors ! The only portion of the country which is brought under regular cultivation is to be found near the port towns. The reason for this deplorable state of things is not far to seek. The fault lies with the Moorish Government, as will be revealed when we examine the administration of the country.

The Sultan is the spiritual and temporal ruler of Morocco, and he unites in his own person the Government of the Empire. His Majesty has a Cabinet of Ministers, who are mere instruments in his hands, to carry out his royal will and pleasure. These Ministers subsist by corruption and oppression. Every post is sold by them to the highest bidder, the proceeds being divided between the Sultan and themselves. Such portions of the Empire of Morocco as acknowledge the authority of the Sultan are divided into provinces ruled by Governors. Some of these officials pay as much as £10,000 for a governorship. When a Governor obtains his post he is at full liberty to squeeze all he can out of the natives under his control. So long as he is able to supply the demands of the Sultan and his Ministers, he can oppress the poor Moors to his heart's content.

Although a governorship is a post highly prized by the Moors, it is by no means a bed of roses. A Governor always lives in fear of not only being deposed, but imprisoned for life or perhaps poisoned. This happens if the Sultan should hear that he has accumulated wealth. His Majesty considers, on account of his spiritual character, that the lives, fortunes, and liberties of his subjects belong to him and that he can dispose of them as he wills.

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There are several large districts in Morocco whose inhabitants defy the Sultan's authority; and although he is continually fighting he is unable to bring them under his control. He sometimes captures a few of their chiefs by treachery, who are kept in prison as hostages for the good behaviour of the tribes. The heads of other rebellious leaders are placed over the gates of the principal cities as a warning to his Majesty's enemies.

The Sultan's regular army is about 25,000 strong. The soldiers are wretchedly equipped and badly disciplined; in fact, they are simply a band of robbers employed for the collection of taxes, in which operation they scruple not to burn villages and plunder defenceless people. Their pay is about a penny per day, out of which they have to find their own food, which even in Morocco is an impossibility. In the time of general war the Governors of provinces have to join the regular army with a certain number of followers.

CHAPTER III

THE TOWNS OF MOROCCO: TANGIER AND TETUAN

TANGIER, although it has never figured as a capital, is the most important town of Morocco, situated in a pretty bay in sight of Gibraltar. Any one landing there for the first time might well imagine himself carried back into the mists of the Dark Ages.

The fashions which enter so largely into the lives of European ladies have not yet disturbed the female mind of the West. The men cling to the fashions of their ancestors with the same tenacity with which they hold to their religion. There is absolutely no change in their garments; similar burnouses were probably worn in the time of the Roman occupation. It seems almost a pity that this phase of oriental life should ever pass away with the march of modern civilisation.

The streets of Tangier are narrow and crooked. The houses are jumbled together without any design or uniformity. It is walled on every side with old-fashioned gates, closed at sunset. But since the Christians have made it a residential habitation, the suburbs have almost become more populous than the old town, and it is now the abode of many races. The whole population amounts to about 20,000: 7,000 Jews, 5,000 Spanish, the remaining 8,000 being made up of various Christian races and Arabs.

The principal market, which is kept outside the town, is held on Sunday: the Jews will not desecrate their own Sabbath by transacting business on that day. It is a strange sight for a European to wander

through the market and observe the curious races of Arabs from the surrounding districts shouting in the guttural language of the country—quite a babel of noises. But, on the whole, they are very good-natured in all their transactions.

There are capital hotels both inside and outside the town, quite on the European model for comfort and convenience. Furnished lodgings can also be had on reasonable terms. Tangier is usually the starting-place for all interior travelling: guides and travelling equipments can be procured here on reasonable terms. Shooting and fishing can be had free, which is more than can be said of many countries in these days. Near Tangier is the ancient site of old Tangier, the Tingis of the Romans. There is an arch of that period standing, in fairly good preservation.

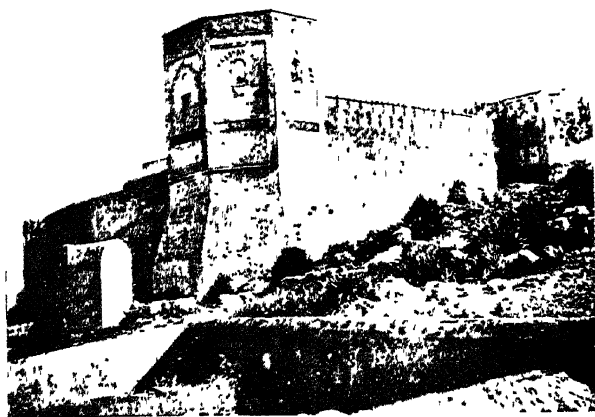
Tetuan, Meknez, Fez, and Alkazar are places within fairly easy reach of Tangier; but the traveller must not expect to find macadamised roads and inns at convenient spots on the highways where he can refresh himself and his animals. No; there are no such luxuries to be found in any part of Morocco. There are no roads of any kind; simply rough tracks which may lead anywhere, and without a guide a traveller could not make his way with any degree of safety. There are no bridges over the rivers except in one or two places near the towns: the traveller has to wade across. In some parts he may find boats to take himself and his belongings. There are no inns in the interior at which a traveller can rest with any comfort. Native fonduks are to be found in some parts, where men and animals may huddle together like one family; but these habitations are not to be recommended to Europeans. The traveller, if he wishes to journey in comfort, must take his own tent, cook, and servants, and at night pitch his tent in the best place he can find. There are no shops on the way, so he must carry his own provisions from Tangier, or from any coast town

which may form his starting-point. He can of course buy milk, native butter, fowls, and eggs, on the way, at very moderate prices. But he must not be in a hurry. In Morocco the value of time is unknown, and the natives are not yet acquainted with the rushing ways of Europeans. So the traveller who really wishes to enjoy himself must for the time being cast aside his European ways and manners and become a quiet, patient Oriental, whom nothing can disturb. If he happens to hear loud talking and shouting from his followers and others, let him not be disturbed. This is the Moorish way: in their opinion nothing can be done well without much talking and shouting. The Moors put a tremendous amount of energy in their talking. The camel is a quiet, patient beast of burden, and probably the Moors have learnt a good lesson from this sagacious animal.

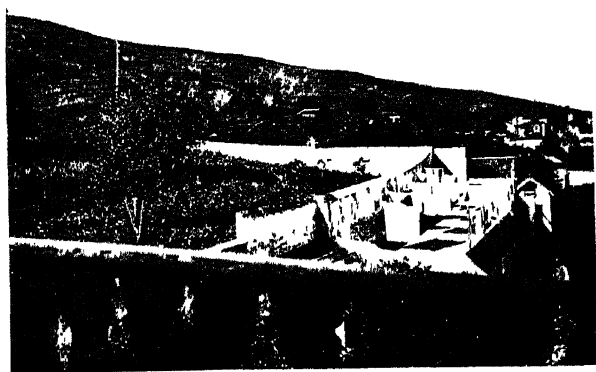
Do not let a traveller imagine that the natives have no great amount of sense. I can tell him that they can reason very well. I was once going along to Morocco City, and we overtook a company of travelling merchants. We struck up a sort of acquaintance. After wishing peace to each other, two of them came over to me and inquired about the wonders to be found in Christian lands. One of the wonderful things I thought would strike their fancy was an account of our railways. They knew the steamers which came to their own shores in a most remarkable way. I told them that one of our ordinary trains would make the journey over which we were taking three days in about as many hours. They all exclaimed, "God is great"; and, after obtaining details as to how it was to be done, I thought I had quite converted them to the idea of having railways in their land. They went some distance apart and reasoned amongst themselves. As we walked along quite near each other I heard their conversation.

They said: "Supposing the Christian made this railway he speaks of in our country, it would carry all the goods and ourselves to the markets. Then camels and mules would no longer be required for carrying the packs of goods to and fro. This would be a loss to the owners of these faithful animals." They finally decided, on these grounds, against the railway. But they were very good-natured over it. They came and inquired about many other things, and they assured me of a warm welcome in Morocco City, and they would show me its wonderful industries. In this matter they were as good as their word. At another time some of their philosophers were pointing out to me that God, in His wisdom, had decreed that all the Christians were the natural slaves of the Mohammedans. In confirmation of this strange theory they pointed out that we manufactured goods for them and brought them in great ships to their very doors. I answered that we Christians were always glad to make articles for any kind of people without any question as to their religion, so long as we were paid for it.

Since the French have taken up their new rôle as civilising agency in connection with Spain, they are endeavouring to make improvements in Tangier. The sanitation is being attended to, and a much-needed mole, or landing-place, has been built. A Commission has charge of these improvements, and is empowered to raise taxation on property. The Commission is composed of M. Fillipe, French Consul; M. Daniel Saurin, French barrister-at-law, and Si Larbi Ben Messoud, a Moor. The English are the largest landed proprietors in Tangier and its neighbourhood, yet not a single Englishman is found on the Commission or sub-Commission—which is considered to be particularly unfair to the British, without whose support France would never have been permitted to have the controlling influence in Morocco. Heavy taxes are imposed on the European owners



KASBAH, TETUAN.



VIEW FROM ROOF OF SULTAN'S PALACE, SAFFEE.

of property round Tangier by this Commission, for the purpose, it was said, of improving the roads, etc., but so far no improvement has been made. There is, however, a fine boulevard now running along above the beach. The French could not be happy unless they had this improvement. Large houses have been built facing it. The whole property belongs to a French company. These French improvements must look strange to the minds of the natives, who have never been accustomed to change, especially in houses or streets.

I am sorry to relate that the Europeans have unfortunately carried with them the vices of their own land. Drink, the curse of our own and other countries, has been introduced, and spirits and wines of a low class are sold, without restrictions, to natives or others. This poison will gradually but surely make its way into all classes of the community—even the present Sultan is said to have fallen under its influence. Another of the European vices which has been allowed to raise its head in Tangier without any check from the ministers of Christian nations, is gambling. On this question I cannot do better than quote the following from the first English paper established in Tangier, *El Maghrib Al Aksa*, of February 7, 1910 :

“Here, in Tangier, the residence of the representatives of Christendom and civilisation, there is no fear of any arrest for gaming, notwithstanding that the gambling dens are legion, for many of those in authority who might stop the game appear to be the most interested in keeping it in a flourishing state. From the highest place of meeting, whether public or private, down to the lowest tavern and brothel, almost every one of them is a place devoted to induce their members or customers to tempt their fortune, or stand a chance.

“Dice-throwing, lotteries, raffles, roulette, baccarat, *rouge-et-noir*, *trente-et-quarante*, *monte*, and several

other games are the favourite pastimes of many of the good people of Tangier. And the worse they fare in the games the more interested they seem to be in trying again the wheel of Fortune.

"A good many are known, among the young folks, who were obliged to embark for South America for a settlement of accounts with their creditors in this part of the world.

"Functionaries that were enjoying a good salary and a high repute not only lost their last penny after a blind bargain, but had to have recourse to borrowing at a heavy interest. Seeking a way out of the difficulty, some of them resorted to malpractices, but were detected and lost their situations; others had to be transferred from here, and were rewarded with an Irish promotion, with less than half of the former pay; the result for them and the unfortunate families was ruin and tears.

"A gamester cannot be trusted, as through gambling he loses what is confided to him, and wrecks everything—his situation, even his own existence. Time was when the foreign authorities did not allow gambling in Tangier. When one of these dens was discovered, the Consul under whose jurisdiction was the owner of the place proceeded to the confiscation of the roulette or gaming-table and effects, and the closing of the premises. Sometimes a heavy fine put an effective end to the business, as complaints from the victimised families were most bitter and pressing. A remarkable case was when, in the course of three days, the ownership of the game passed from one nationality to another and put in commotion almost every Consulate and Legation until the property of the gambling place fell in turn to a Moroccan subject, and the Basha had to step in, closed the premises, and seized the roulette, which was conveyed on a donkey to the Kasbah.

"Those were high times indeed, but now everything is changed. The most disreputable practices

are now permitted to go on unmolested, and even crimes like the robbery of landed property and the forgery of title-deeds are allowed to go scot-free. We wonder whether such leniency is for the sake of increasing the interests and prestige of the nations concerned !

“ Woe for the civilisation that is being introduced in Morocco at the beginning of the twentieth century ! ”

How is it possible for missionary effort to meet with the success we would look for, when the Moors see that the subjects of Christian nations introduce into their midst the worst vices of Europe ? In this connection Mr. Gurney, at the request of the late Sultan Abdul Aziz, held a remarkable conversation with Cid Abdul Kerim Ben Sleeman, the Foreign Minister, whose words ought to make many a foreign representative blush for shame. Ben Sleeman spoke of the importation of liquor into Morocco. He said it was originally imported only for the foreign officials and their servants. He would like to make it punishable for any Moorish servants or chieftains to get drunk. They should be dismissed from their employment after three offences of drunkenness. The drinking of spirituous liquor of any kind, he asserted, was against the Mohammedan religion. The Moors, the minister added, would be friends for ever with any one who would help them to stop the importation of liquor into Morocco. The value of inferior spirits imported into Morocco in 1893 was £9,876 ; for 1908 the imports of wines and spirits rose to £122,295, and the amount will of course increase every year unless a check is placed on this traffic by the European Powers. It can only help to demoralise the natives and bring the name of Christian into contempt. The “ Native Races Committee ” in England has protested against this traffic, and it is to be hoped that something may be done to abolish it.

Tangier has always been the seat of the represen-

tatives of European nations. This is the town where many an intrigue is hatched, and where unreliable news is manufactured for Europe. The Sultan of Morocco, unlike the monarchs of other nations, has no settled Court, where foreign ministers could reside and be in direct touch with his Majesty ; he is a nomad, a kind of wanderer. Sometimes he is at Fez, his northern capital ; at times he is in Morocco City, his southern capital. He stays at Meknez, Rabat, and other places, at other times he is engaged in "eating up the tribes," as it is termed ; in other words, he and his followers are making raids on some defenceless villages, plundering them right and left, chopping off the heads of a few offenders, and sending them, after being salted, to his capitals, there to be stuck over the principal gates as a warning to evil-doers.

For the special benefit of the European ministers, he places a Moorish minister at Tangier, who acts as a buffer between the Sultan and his ministers (who are always moving about), and the representatives of European Powers. These Moors are born diplomats. They are patient, polite, and particularly cunning. They have for many years played off one European Power against the other ; and I expect the same diplomatic game is engaged in now. The Moors knew the jealousy which existed between the Christian nations. They took advantage of this, and still do so in a more or less degree.

The Sultan himself seems to avoid Tangier on account of its being the residence of too many Europeans, who are in a measure hateful to his Majesty. In Tangier a European can acquire property with perfect ease, while in other port towns it is rendered almost impossible—at all events much trouble has to be taken before a scrap of land can be purchased. The presence of foreign ministers in Tangier no doubt facilitates the transfer of landed property at that place.

It seems very unsatisfactory that the presence of European ministers does not have a restraining

influence on evil-doing in Tangier. Surely they could unite in routing out gambling, drink, and other public vices, which are undoubtedly a standing disgrace to us. The Moorish authorities are willing that those evils should be stamped out of their borders; so in this matter they do not stand as a stumbling-block against their much-needed reformation. I know that jealousy and suspicion still lurk in the councils of the foreign ministers, and one minister, however willing he may be, cannot make much headway if he stands alone; but I cannot help thinking that if an appeal were made to all these Ministers they would stand in line for reformation, especially when they are asked to help to take the beam out of our own eyes before we ask the Moors to take the mote out of theirs.

One illustrious personage, who may be called a pathetic figure, has made Tangier the abode of his retirement from the affairs of State. That is Abdul Aziz, ex-Sultan of Morocco. He built for himself a fine house on a hill near Tangier. He likes receiving visits from the European ministers and old friends. He often regrets that, when he was Sultan, he had not his present knowledge of what he could have done for his people. He will be able now, in his loneliness, to contemplate the hollowness of human friendship. How different would have been his rule if he had cleared his Court of designing European adventurers, who flocked to him for the sole purpose of enriching themselves at his expense, and who did not care one straw for his people or himself! They were finally his ruin. If he had surrounded himself with wise and experienced counsellors, he might have been the means of promoting the raising of his people from the depths of degradation into which they had sunk and of elevating them to a high state of civilisation, as of old. He, poor man, had no European adviser near him on whom he could rely. Let us hope that his successor may learn wisdom

from the experience of Muley Abdul Aziz, who is perhaps happier without the thorny Crown of State, which, even in despotic Morocco, is rather heavy to wear.

Here are the headquarters of the British and Foreign Bible Society, also those of the North African Mission; the Moorish Room, the Home for Freed Women Slaves, Mission hospitals, the Anglo-Jewish schools and other philanthropic agencies are also carried on from this point.

Cape Spartel lighthouse is situated within an easy ride of Tangier; beautiful views of the Atlantic and the surrounding country can be obtained from it. It is well worth a visit.

Tetuan is the nearest and most interesting town near Tangier. It is a day's journey on horseback, the track passing through the Angera country, which is most picturesque. Hill tribes inhabiting these districts are often in revolt against the Sultan, but they do not molest Europeans in any way. About half-way a quaint old fonduk or caravansary is met, situated far up in a lonely spot in the hills. Although it cannot be recommended as an hotel for Europeans to reside in, yet it is a capital resting-place for travellers on the way. Splendid views of the surrounding country can be obtained from this spot. A cup of strong coffee or green tea can be obtained here without having to tip the waiters. Tetuan itself is very ancient. Thoroughly Moorish in character, it is situated on high ground and has been strongly fortified after the Moorish fashion. The river Martil passes near it and reaches the sea at about six miles distant; its mouth can be entered by ships. Tetuan is not a great commercial centre. Many rich Moors reside here, who can trace their origin to the time when their ancestors were expelled from Spain. The descendants of those ancient families have been settled here ever since. They carried with them the various arts which they carried on in Spain in olden

times. Beautiful painted wood-work can be found here, and many travellers take specimens to Europe. There is a Jewish hotel-keeper here who acted also as Vice-Consul. He kept a book for visitors as far back as 1836. Many strange names appear in it, and their ideas of the place are very entertaining. The population of Tetuan is 10,000, of whom 3,000 are Jews. The Jews founded a school here in 1866; there are 340 pupils in it. The Franciscan Friars have a college and church here.

CHAPTER IV

ARZILA, LARAICHE, MEHEDIA, RABAT, SALLEE, CASABLANCA, MAZAGAN, SAFFEE, AND MOGADOR

ARZILA, which is the next town to Tangier, is insignificant, and is situated at the mouth of the river El Hashaof. Laraiche is the next coast town; it stands at the mouth of the river Lucas, which has a dangerous bar and is considered the least accessible port in the Moorish Empire. There is, however, plenty of water inside the bar, where vessels can safely load, if they do not draw more than eleven feet of water, in spring tides. There is sometimes thirteen or fourteen feet of water on the bar. Luxuriant vegetation grows on the banks of the Lucas. The odour of the orange-blossoms from the orchards at a certain season of the year impregnates the air of the surrounding country to a considerable extent. Excellent grapes are also produced here. The Moors consider this the site of the famous garden of Hesperides. The population of Laraiche is about 5,000.

Mehedia is the next port. It is situated at the mouth of the river Sebou. This is a very large river: it reaches as far as Fez, and has five tributaries. The town itself is in a most ruinous condition, and little frequented by European travellers. The great tribe of Beni Hassan occupies the country which lies between this town and Sallee, the seat of the ancient sea-rovers, who were a terror to many mariners in the old days of high-sea robbery. Mr. Gurney and I went through the Beni Hassan country on our way to Morocco City. Their land seemed to be



HENRY GURNEY, ESQ., ON HORSEBACK IN MOROCCO.

fertile and well cultivated. These powerful people are a terror to the Sultan and his Governors. They have a custom amongst them that no man may marry unless he owns a horse and can ride well. We found that the Governor of Mehedia at that time was in fear of these people and could hardly stir with safety outside the walls of the town. We found them quite friendly, and willing to sell anything we wanted.

The next town is Sallee, the home of the old sea-rovers, a most fanatical place. Years ago it would have been quite unsafe for a Christian to be seen here. I thought of that time when I rode through the town and selected oranges from their shops; not a murmur was raised against the hateful Christian, although the late Sir John Hay and his party were treated rather badly when they visited this town. It stands on one side of the river Boo Regrey, while Rabat, the next town, with the famous Hassan Tower, stands on the opposite side of the river. This is perhaps the most interesting town on all the coast of Morocco. The harbour—if it can be called such—is one of the most dangerous on the whole coast. But, fortunately, the natives are splendid boat carpenters, and they construct excellent lighters that can stand almost any amount of surf, and the boatmen are a capital set of men, who know their business. It is really marvellous how well and skilfully they manage their boats, and with what very few mishaps. The town is perhaps the oldest on the coast, and possesses the most ancient ruins that can be found anywhere in this country. Here stands the beautiful Hassan Tower, which at one time belonged to a great mosque which has long since fallen into ruins. The architect of this tower has always been credited as having designed three: the tower of Rabat, the tower of the Kutabia in Morocco City, and the Giralda in Seville. They are certainly of the same design. Near the town of Rabat stand the ruins of the ancient town of Shellah, said to be

the remains of a Carthaginian city. We find in it Roman vaults. It also contains the royal tombs of the early emperors of Morocco. The following are some of the inscriptions, which may prove of interest, translated from the Arabic by M. H. Sauvaire. The photographs of the inscriptions were taken by the late Mr. Theodore S. Redman, of Mazagan.

This is the grave of our master the Sultan, the Caliph, the Imam, the Emir of the Mussulmans and Defender of the Religion, the Champion of the Faith in the way of the master of the worlds. "Abou." Hassan, the son of our master the Sultan, the Caliph, the Imam, the Emir of the Mussulmans, and the Defender of the Religion, the Champion of the Faith in the way of the masters of the worlds. "Abou." Yousef Yakoub, the son of Abdul El Hakk. May God sanctify his soul.

On the other side :

And lighten his grave. He died—may God be satisfied with him and content him in the mountain of Hentalah in the night of Monday to Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day of the month of Rabi, first blessed of the year seven hundred and fifty-two—and was buried in the gibleh of the mosque cathedral of El Mansour at Marakesh. May God do that it be always full with the song of the Canticles (or memory). Then he was transferred from there to the sepulchre. Blessed and sanctified of Chellah. May God grant His blessing and welcome to him in His paradise. May God bless our Lord Mohammed and his family, and grant him the salute.

Glory to God, this is the grave of our mistress, the free-born, the pure, the pious, the virtuous, the daughter of the Sultan, the Imam. The good qualities and the numerous titles of glory of whom are too brilliant to be numbered or related. Our master, the Emir of the Faithful, El Moutawakkel, he who pleases his confidence, Ala rabb El Alamin, in the master of the worlds. "Abou." Enan, the son of the Emir of the Mussulmen. "Abou." El Hassan, the son of the Caliph, the great and notable Emams. May God give her for residence His vast paradise, and grant her forgiveness and mercy. Her death took place on Friday, fourth day

of Rajab, the single year, seven hundred and fifty. She was buried immediately after the prayer at the Friday, in the presence of our master, the Caliph El Mansour, assisted by God, and those of the notabilities from east to west, who were present in great numbers at her funeral. My God, be he exalted; give strength to his commands. Enlarge His great and glorious thoughts; perpetuate the memory of his noble feats and his generosity; be his friend and protector, and gratify him at the same time with the welfare of this world and the other. "Abou."

AN INSCRIPTION ON MARBLE IN A WALL
AT SHELLAH

I take refuge near God against Satan, in the name of God, clement and merciful. God bless our Lord Mohammed and his family and address him salutations. Surate lx. verses 26 and 27. All that is on the earth and there will remain the face of thy master surrounded with majesty and glory. This is the grave of our lord and master, the just king, El Mansour, the Champion of the Faith, the martyr Emir of the Mussulmen, Defender of the Religion, the sanctified. Upon whom God have mercy.

Yousef, the son of Abdul Hakk. God sanctify his soul, and refresh his sepulchre. He died a martyr on the day of Wednesday, the seventh in the year seven hundred and six.

Around the stone is engraved the Surate xxi. verses 32-34.

AN INSCRIPTION ON AN ALTAR-PIECE
AT SHELLAH

In the centre are verses 33-34 of the Surate xxi., on the right side verses 2-5 of the Surate ii., and on the left side are the words :

I take my refuge near God to defend myself against Satan, in the name of God clement and merciful.
God bless our Lord Mohammed.

It would be difficult at all times to photograph the inscriptions of these royal tombs, and more

especially at the period at which these were taken. I am not aware of any having ever been taken except by the late Mr. Redman, to whose brother I am indebted for the negatives.

Rabat is especially famous for the manufacture of carpets. They command a high price, but they are of excellent quality, made of pure wool in beautiful designs. They are of brilliant colours which do not fade. These carpets are manufactured by hand-looms. They are as yet unable to make them into squares similar to those of Turkey. They could, no doubt, get over this difficulty if they had modern looms. The population of Rabat is about 20,000.

Casablanca is perhaps, commercially speaking, the most important town on the whole coast of Morocco. It is surrounded by a fairly rich country, from which it draws a considerable trade. The present town is comparatively modern. At one time it was composed merely of mud huts. The ruins of a much older town are not far distant. Casablanca was recently the scene of the French effort at bringing the Moors under subjection, in which they were assisted by the Spanish troops. This was carried out under the powers which were conferred on them by the Algeciras Act of 1906. I cannot help thinking that a little more tact on the part of France would have avoided this regrettable incident altogether. As it is, she has aroused the suspicions of the Moors, whose confidence in her disinterested mission is broken. In the introduction of French improvements, which they believed were of little use, they detected an idea of conquest, and this they would naturally resist, for there are no people more jealous of their independence than the Moors. If the French had exercised patience and forbearance, and studied the character of the people, and endeavoured to carry out improvements which the Moors could understand, such as the construction of cart-roads and bridges—not tramways, railways,

and electric light at first—the Moors would have appreciated such improvements, which would facilitate the transit of merchandise from the surrounding country to Casablanca, or any other town. This would have been a real benefit to the inhabitants. The Moors are in some ways like children, easily upset. The harbour of Casablanca could be easily improved, which would make it one of the best landing-places on the coast. There is a Jewish school in this town, also a Spanish one, and several missionaries are stationed here. The population is about 12,000.

Between Casablanca and Mazagan stands the town of Azammur, on the banks of the river of that name. It is of considerable size, surrounded by a wall, like all Moorish towns, and possessing a population of about 8,000.

Mazagan was built in 1513 by the Portuguese, who, after an occupation of 288 years, evacuated it and gave it up to the Moors, who have retained it ever since. It is well situated for commerce, having the large and fertile province of Dukkala in its neighbourhood, where all kinds of grain and cattle are procurable for the trade of the port. It is distant about 120 miles from the city of Morocco. In view of the level nature of the intervening country a good macadamised road could be made from this port to the city of Morocco at a small cost. What a tremendous change a simple road would make to the district! It would open a direct road to the slopes of the Atlas Mountains, and would bring the commerce of those distant places within easy reach of the sea. Mazagan is situated in a bay that has a good anchorage for shipping in six or seven fathoms of water, at about three quarters of a mile from the shore, well sheltered from the south and south-westerly gales by the land, and from the north-west by a reef of rocks. It has a well-built wall for the protection of lighterage, a landing-place

at the water-gate, and a large, well-built custom-house. Much could be done to still improve this port for shipping and the landing of cargo. A Spanish school and Christian missionaries are stationed here. The population of the town is about 6,000.

The town of Saffee is simply an open roadstead, and is especially bad for sailing-vessels. It is rendered still worse by rocks under water. The sanitary arrangements of this town are particularly defective—those of all the towns are bad. The captains of the steamers that touched there used to say that they could smell Saffee out at sea. At night they knew when they were coming near it on account of its odours. A good deal of trade is carried on at this port under much difficulty. It is picturesque situated, and is really an interesting, quaint old town. It is surrounded on the land side by the province of Abda. The population is about 8,000.

Mogador is the most southern port of Morocco, with the exception of Cape Juby. It is within sight of the Atlas Mountains. It was built in 1760 by Sultan Sidi Mohammed in order to draw to it the trade of the Sus, when Agadir was closed. Its plan is entirely different from that of all other Moorish towns. The principal streets are wide and straight. The Sultan began to build a palace outside the town, but it is now falling to pieces and almost covered with sand. The town is enclosed with a fortified wall, and is entered by four gates, which are closed at sunset. An excellent supply of water is brought to it from springs near the village of Diabat by an aqueduct about two miles long. It keeps a number of public tanks in the town constantly well filled and also serves for the irrigation of market gardens outside the town. Mogador is well supplied with provisions—meat, fish, fruit, vegetables, etc.

Built on the very verge of the Atlantic, and right in the track of the north-easterly trade winds which blow with such frequency during the summer months,

this town is perhaps the healthiest on the coast. It is not subject to extremes of heat; in fact, there is not much more than 10° variation between the mean summer and winter heat. The anchorage in the bay, partly sheltered by an island about three quarters of a mile long, is good in the summer time, but is frequently dangerous, especially for sailing crafts, in the winter, when the south-westerly winds occasionally send in heavy seas. The best hotel is the Palm-tree, some distance outside the town.

The country round Mogador is particularly interesting. The great and rich provinces of Shiadma and Haha reach almost to the gates of the city. Beautiful forests of argan and olive trees abound in these regions. When I stayed for some time in Mogador with my good friends Mr. and Mrs. Zerbib, I used to take a ride nearly every day into the country and drink large quantities of the milk which I procured at farm-houses. The people missed me when I went away, and named me the Lord of the Milk, as they did not know my name.

On one occasion I met a rather pretty woman, and asked her for milk. She said she would procure me some, which she very kindly did. I asked her if she was married. She answered, "Yes; I am married to a Moor who is a farmer," and pointed out the farm. She seemed so bright and happy that I asked if her husband had more than one wife. "He has two," she answered. "I hope some day he will have four, which is the number the Koran allows." I was somewhat surprised at this answer, so I asked her the reason for her gladness. She explained that, as he had only two, she had to take a week about at work, whereas if he had the regulation number, four, she would only have to work one week in four. This simple person seemed quite contented with the arrangement. The reason which prevented the Moor from having the four wives was that he could not afford more than two.

The population of Mogador is given at 16,000. About one-third are Jews, who mostly live in their own quarter. The Christians live in the Mohammedan quarter. Mr. Zerbib has been carrying on mission work among the Jews here for nearly thirty years. He and his wife are devoted workers in the good cause. The Anglo-Jewish Society have a school here, carried on by Madam Corcos, with very good results. The South African Mission has quarters here. There is a regular communication carried on between this town and Morocco City. A great part of the country along the way is very lovely, through which a delightful trip can be made with great ease and enjoyment. Most of the trade of the Sus and the far Sudan passes through Mogador. The market is often held in the principal square, and sometimes outside the gate.

Easter is a bad time for setting out on a journey from this town. Had it not been, on one occasion, my good fortune to meet a friend in the person of a Moor who joined my party when I was setting out for Morocco City, I should have had to live on Passover bread all the way. After starting I found that my cook, who belonged to the tribe of Levi, would not touch fire on any account; and therefore I could get nothing cooked. But the Moorish recruit came to my aid. He had no such scruples, he said, as the Levite; so I fared on the whole sumptuously all the way there and back. I hope other travellers will profit by this information.

Ruins are found on the way from Mogador to Morocco City which are well worthy of a visit, and the traveller is in sight, nearly the whole of the way, of the great chain of the Atlas Mountains, which reach their greatest altitude near Morocco City. The view is particularly grand. On the one side stretches a great tract of country of the Shiadma and Rahamna, and on the other side towers up the great Atlas covered with perpetual snow, forming a mighty ram-



MISS PAUL STARTING FROM FONDUK TO TETUAN.

part dividing Morocco from the Sahara Desert. Its snow-capped heights cool the breezes of the plains and render them pleasant habitations for man and beast, and the melting of snows on these great heights sends down the fertilising streams which make the plains and valleys below the most fertile of all places on earth.

CHAPTER V

MOROCCO CITY ; FEZ ; MIKNEZ

MOROCCO CITY is situated on an immense plain. The high tower of the great mosque can be seen in the distance and the tall palm-trees of the extensive gardens which surround the city help to form a pretty oriental picture. The traveller, crossing the crumbling old bridge over the river Tensift, which falls into the Atlantic between Saffee and Mogador, usually enters the city by the Dukkala Gate. The streets are winding and confusing to a stranger, and the appearance of the city gives one the idea of decay and ruin. The mud walls are crumbling to pieces, and many of the houses are in a tumble-down condition.

Morocco City is of great importance, being the second capital of the empire. It was founded many centuries ago by Sid Yoosef, one of the Sultans of the country.

The great mosque is the most interesting building in the town. The tower, which is about 250 feet high, makes a splendid landmark. There are many large olive, orange, and other fruit-gardens within the walls of the city. The streets are narrow and crooked, without names, and the houses without numbers, like all Moorish towns.

In Morocco City there are markets of many kinds. There is a slave market, which is held every Friday, also skin, oil, grain, and other markets. Here we have a street where old shoes are mended and new ones made and exposed for sale, there a street for old

clothes, and others for saddlery, ironmongery, grinding mills, gunsmiths, daggers, and swords. The pottery is truly Moorish in character. Fruit, charcoal, and coos-cooso have markets of their own. Bread and meat have their peculiar quarters. Water-carriers go about with skins supplying the thirsty with drink. Cloth fairs, native and foreign, are held every afternoon, and men go about selling their wares in public. Morocco leather is made here, and that is also sold in public auction. Soup-kitchens are found at many convenient corners for the hungry Arabs. Coffee-houses also abound, where Moorish questions are discussed in the midst of coffee-drinking, and the smoking of keef. The snake-charmers take their stand in the market-places to entertain the inhabitants, and the story-teller finds eager listeners to his marvellous tales. The barber thrives here also, and is busy shaving the heads of the faithful. Astrologers may be found squatting on the ground with their mystic books, selling charms to the credulous.

A holy man of the Sahara, who was very friendly to me, gave me, as his parting gift when dying, his book of charms. It was his only property, and I have always valued it.

Other poor wretches may be met with, appealing to the benevolent for alms in the name of some favourite saint. At the gates the lawyers, with their large white turbans, are to be seen seated on the ground busy making out documents of law. Apothecaries' shops are very abundant, the medicine being principally herbs, and the chemist tells the virtue of each without any extra charge. The Moors seem to have a great faith in the powers of a Christian for healing. One day I was sitting in the market-place talking to one or two merchants. While I was speaking two young men brought their brother, who was not able to walk; they carried him most carefully and brought him in front of the shop where

I sat, and asked me to heal him. Great was their faith, and I only wish I had the power to heal their brother. I was, however, obliged to say that I was unable to cure him, and they went sorrowfully away. At another time I was selecting medicinal herbs in the open market-place to take with me to England. A crowd of Moors came round, and remarked, "Look at the Christian; he is buying medicine by which he can cure the people in his own country." They came forward and told me the virtue of each herb, so as to help me.

Cook-shops are found in various places, and paint for beautifying the ladies is sold everywhere. We pass ladies, as we move along, completely covered from view with the exception of their eyes. The ideas of liberty which the suffragettes uphold in this country have not yet reached Morocco. Public fountains are met with at various places, one of them bearing the inscription, "Look and drink." There is even a system of sewerage; but there is great need of sanitary inspectors to see that the streets and houses are kept clean.

When I made my first visit to this city I was surprised at the arbitrary power which the Sultan exercises over his subjects through his governors. The Sultan was then present in the city. I sent my soldier to the governor with a letter asking for the use of a house during my stay, thinking they had empty ones. He came back with two soldiers from the governor, asking me to come and choose a house. I replied that I would be quite satisfied with any choice they might make. They went away and soon returned and told me that they selected a nice one for me in the Mohammedan quarter. I went to see it, and found it a dear little house with a small courtyard in the middle, with a small fountain, which was then dry, as the house was empty. So I moved in at once, with all my belongings. As soon as I came in, the same day a strange



LARACHE.

Jew came in and welcomed me to Morocco City. I did not know him, but he told me he was a Levite. He said that he would send me furniture and bread for my use every day, and also wine from the famous district of Dimnat sealed with the seal of the priest, as an evidence of purity. All this was to be done without any pay. All I had to do, while I remained in the city, was to dine with him every Saturday, which was their Sabbath day. I had no difficulty in making up my mind to accept such a generous offer. He lived in the Jewish quarter, and although, as I afterwards heard, he was a rich man, he was obliged to take off his slippers when coming into the Mohammedan quarter. He sent the furniture, bread and wine, and made me quite comfortable.

I went the first Saturday to dinner, and I found that he lived in a beautiful house. On my arrival the dinner was all laid, with a snow-white cloth over it, and his wife, dressed in gorgeous clothes, served the edibles. Another Levite was present when we sat down to dinner. My good friend took his seat, and the cloth was removed. He then took the bread, broke it and blessed it, and, taking the pieces, handed them in turn to each of us. He then took the cup of wine, blessed it and drank a little and handed it over to us. The same ceremony was gone through each time I went. Dining at a Jewish house was quite a new experience to me.

After I had been in my house a few days an old, respectable Moor came quietly to the house. He was asked in, and he sat down and explained, in a very humble manner, that the house which I occupied was his property, and that the Sultan's governor had turned him out, and all his belongings, at a moment's notice, to make room for me. He even feared worse evils might happen to him. I assured him that I was very sorry to have been the innocent cause of depriving him of his pretty house, but that I would take great care of it. He was then at

ease, and often came in to have a chat. I improved his dwelling in some respects by killing a large snake we found in it. I smashed his head with a tent-pole, to the great amazement of the neighbours, who flocked in to see it. The Moors leave these reptiles alone, to roam about as they like.

I always remember, with a great sense of pleasure, an incident that took place on the morning I left that house on my way back to Mogador. An unknown female hand came out at a door near by, and handed me a basin of milk to drink. I never saw her face or person, but thanked her all the same.

There are now English missionaries located here, and a Vice-Consul. The population of Morocco City is about 60,000, which is much increased when the Sultan makes one of his periodical visits to his southern capital, or during fair time. A splendid view of the great Atlas chain of mountains can be obtained from the city. Here lived, in great affluence, Sid Boobeker, for many years the Agent of the British Government, who rose from a stable-boy to be one of the richest men in the country. Mr. Gurney and I visited and dined with him at his country house near Morocco City. The house was surrounded by extensive grounds, walled in and watered from the Atlas Mountains. He employed over 1,200 people in his garden, as he called it, and the produce from the olives alone made £4,000 a year. Being protected, he had no taxes to pay, very much to the annoyance of the Moorish tax-gatherer.

Fez is a very ancient city, the northern capital of Morocco, and, on account of its sanctity, the favourite residence of the Sultan. It is within fairly easy reach of Tangier. It is situated in the beautiful valley of the river Sebou, surrounded by high mountains. It abounds in groves of lemon, pomegranates, and other fruit-trees. It is, in every sense of the word, the most sacred city in Morocco. It is said to contain about 360 mosques, or sanctu-

aries, and the numerous minarets which adorn it can be seen towering above the whitewashed houses all over the city. The sacred tomb of Mulay Idris is here a favourite resort of the faithful. The great Mohammedan University and library are here.

I had with me at Cape Juby a man who had been educated in this city. He had been to Europe and acquired, during his stay there, one of the worst vices of our land—drink. He became its slave in every way. I tried to reform him, but I am afraid that I was not very successful. He was a beautiful Arabic writer, and I asked him who taught him to write so beautifully. Madani—for that was his name—said that, when he was sent by his father to the University, the head master showed him his own writing and at the same time held up a thick stick. He told him that, unless he could learn to write as well as himself, he would use that stick pretty freely on his back. Madani told me that he tried his hardest to write like him, as he had always the fear of that thick stick before his eyes. And I should think he had quite equalled his master, if he did not surpass him.

The education which is imparted at this University is not of a very high order. It consists mostly of a religious training, with special attention to the study of Mohammedan law, which is based on the Koran. In the twelfth century Fez was famous for its schools and universities. It may be said to have been one of the most celebrated cities in the world at that period, and many renowned Arab writers received their education there, and left their mark upon literature and art. That period of greatness has departed; but, let us hope, not for ever. The universities may still rise, out of the dust of ages, to greatness and power, and educate Moors who may throw lustre on their own land and help to raise it to a high state of civilisation. Let the Moors look back to the

greatness of their past history, and try not only to emulate their forefathers, but surpass them. It is a task worthy of the race to which they belong.

Fez is yet the most important city of the Khalifate of the West. Its population is about 100,000. It was at one time the seat of one of the four kingdoms of which Morocco was anciently composed. It is divided into two cities—Old and New Fez—both standing on each side of the river Sebou. Old Fez was founded in A.D. 808, by Muley Idris, a descendant of the prophet Mohammed by Fatima, his daughter. New Fez was founded, in A.D. 1267, by Abu Yoosef ben Abdul El Hakk.

The streets are narrow, like those of all other Moorish towns. The most notable building in the city is the great and famous mosque of El Kairawan. It has 270 columns and sixteen naves, each having twenty-one arches, and can accommodate 22,700 persons. The tower, or minaret, was constructed by order of Ahmed ben Ali Beker. This tower is also celebrated for its great height and beauty. Pilgrimages are made by the faithful to the tomb of Muley Idris, and it is here that the Sultan takes the oath when he is acknowledged as ruler of Morocco.

The country round is fertile, yielding palm, oranges, lemons, and other products. The great library of Fez, which is the most famous in Northern Africa, may in time, when its hidden treasures are brought to light, prove a mine of wealth to the students of history. Fez, industrially and commercially, is the most important of all the cities of Morocco. It has manufactures of woollen and silk of the finest description, surpassing anything produced in other cities of the empire, and much prized in this country. Magnificent carpets, beautiful tiles, and arms of the finest workmanship bear testimony also to the skill of its craftsmen.

Commercial communication is now carried on between Fez, Rabat, and Tangier and the surround-

JEBEL YERRAT

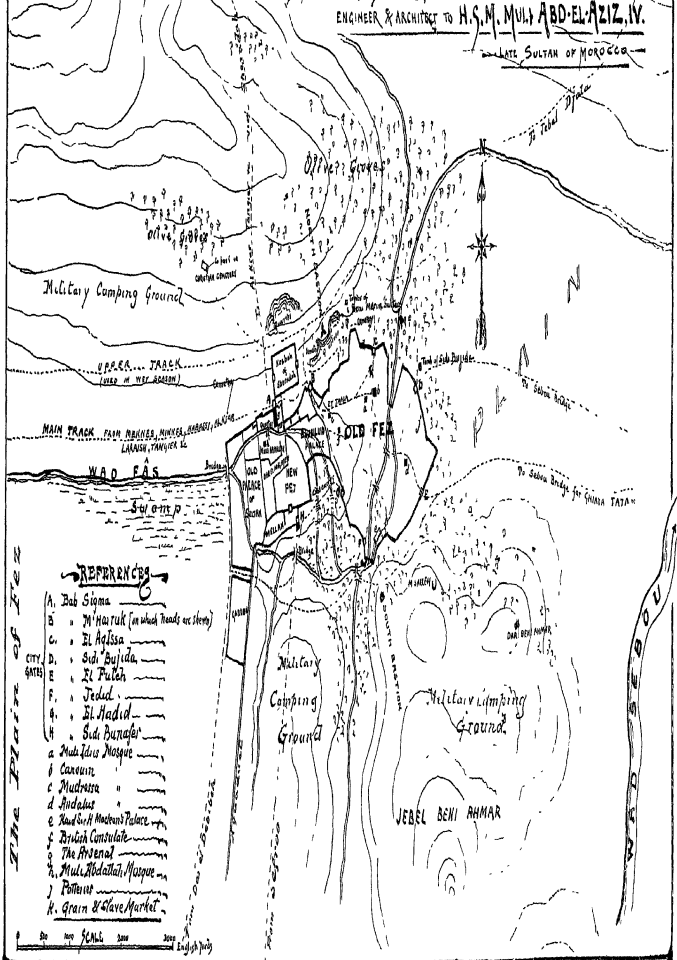
SKETCH-MAP OF FEZ.

JEBEL DJALA

BY CHARLES H. ROSHER, C.E.

ENGINEER & ARCHITECT TO H.S.M. MULY ABD-EL-AZIZ, IV.

LATE SULTAN OF MOROCCO



REFERENCES

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (A) | Bab Sigma |
| (B) | " M'haruk (in which stands the Mosque) |
| (C) | " El Agissa |
| (D) | " Sidi Bajida |
| (E) | " El Fuleh |
| (F) | " Fedid |
| (G) | " El Hadid |
| (H) | " Sidi Buzafar |
| (a) | Mub Idris Mosque |
| (b) | Casuar |
| (c) | Mudrasa |
| (d) | Andalus |
| (e) | Kadich Madrasa Palace |
| (f) | British Consulate |
| (g) | The Arsenal |
| (h) | Mule Abdallah Mosque |
| (i) | Potters |
| (k) | Grain & Slave Market |

The Plain of Fez

Scale 1:50,000

ing country. Fez is distant 375 miles from Morocco City. There can be no doubt that, in time, the river Sebou will be opened up for navigation from its mouth at Mehedia to the city of Fez, for the mouth of that river is its natural commercial outlet.

Fez and many interesting places around are worthy of visit and exploration by any traveller who has leisure at his disposal. The Vice-Consuls of various Powers have their quarters in the city; also the North African mission does good work here.

Meknez, which was the capital of a small kingdom, is situated not far from Fez. It is called the treasure city. The Sultans make it their halting-place on their way to and from Morocco City. The Sultan is supposed to keep all his treasure in this city, but I surmise that in these days, when the richest subjects are under foreign protection, and therefore exempt from taxation, he has very little treasure left to hide. Meknez was founded by the Berbers before the Arab invasion. It remained an independent kingdom until A.D. 1150, when it was taken by Abd El Mumen, and partly destroyed. The Sultan Abu Yoosef ben Abdul El Hakk built a magnificent strong castle in Meknez in A.D. 1276. The Sultan has a fine palace here, and it is supposed that the fabulous treasure which it contains is guarded by negroes. This story is really only the creation of some fertile brain.

The streets of this city are much wider than those of any other town in Morocco, with the exception of Mogador. The population is calculated at 40,000. Near the place is a great plantation of olive-trees, which are said to have been planted by order of Muley Ismael. It is supposed that the extraordinary total of four million trees were planted at one time. The commerce and industries of Meknez are insignificant.

The next town of importance, although not commercially, is that of Wazzan. It is the city of the

Grand Shereef, who is a true descendant of the prophet Mohammed. His followers are numerous, scattered along a great part of Northern Africa. The Shereefs have, in years gone by, exercised immense influence among their followers, and their presence has at times done more to bring turbulent tribes under subjection than the presence of an army. On this account they were sought by the Sultans and the French in times of difficulties. It was undoubtedly for the purpose of securing his good offices that the French Government granted him protection.

The last Shereef had alienated from him many of his followers. It appears that he imbibed French ideas, and contracted the habit of drinking, which the faithful forgave but could not overlook. At one time he put away all his wives and married an English woman by whom he had some children. He finally repented of all his evil ways, but he was then a wreck. I went to see him in Tangier, on his dying bed. He was stout and dark, with a good dash of negro blood in his veins. He died a few days after my visit. A great concourse of Mohammedans assembled at his funeral. He seemed a good-natured, easy man, and was undoubtedly taken advantage of by some Europeans, and led quite astray. But faith in the virtue of a Grand Shereef is, I believe, on the wane, and may, as time goes on, disappear altogether. It is said that he accepted French protection solely for the purpose of evading paying taxation to the Moorish Government.

Alkasar is the next place at which the traveller stops on the way to Fez. Its principal fame is that in its neighbourhood was fought a great battle between the Sultan's troops and Don Sebastian, the King of Portugal, in 1578, in which the latter was slain. He was only twenty-two years of age. Many of his nobles who joined him in this unequal contest met their death. It seems that Don Sebastian's sympathies were aroused on behalf of a

Sultan of Morocco who had been dethroned by his uncle. Don Sebastian landed in Arzila and marched near to Alkasar with 15,000 troops, but to his astonishment he was met by 40,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and 35 cannon, besides a force of wild tribes from the mountains. The contest was hopeless at the outset. Don Sebastian and his army were surrounded and practically cut to pieces, whilst nearly all of those that remained were made prisoners. A somewhat romantic story arises out of this battle, which I have taken from the life of the late Sir John Hay; it is somewhat varied in these pages.

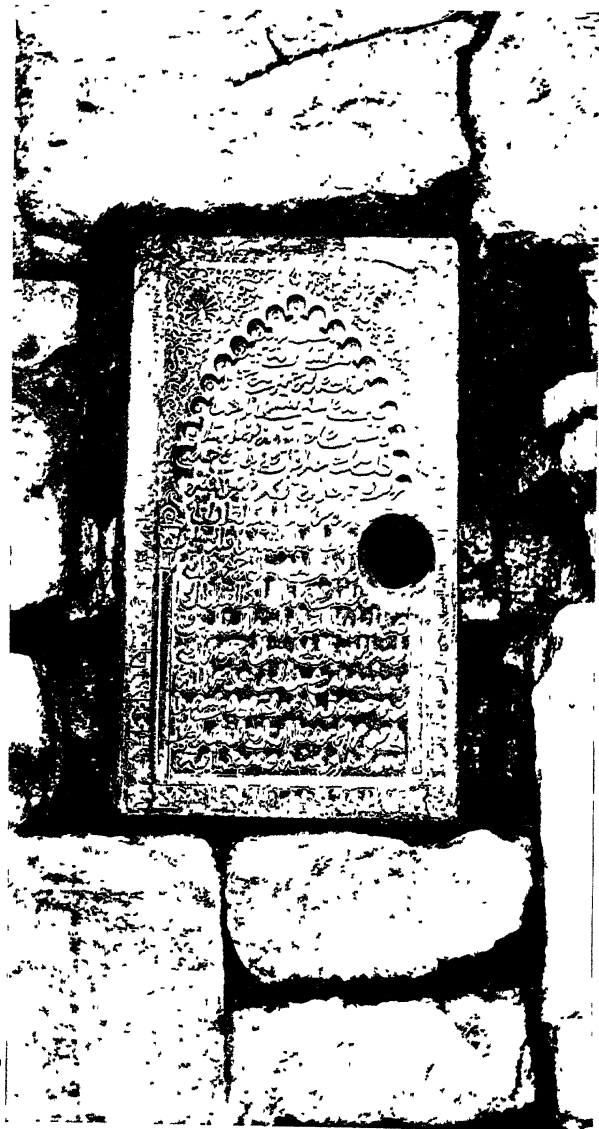
It appears that one of the Portuguese prisoners was a famous gun-maker, João Renanda. His great skill was known to the Sultan and offers were made to him before the battle to enter the Sultan's service, for which he would be handsomely rewarded. He declined, as he had no desire to serve the Mohammedans; now, by a strange fate, he was placed in their hands. But the chief who had him in charge did not know his identity. João fortunately kept in his possession a letter signed by the Sultan, which in this case saved his life. He and his companions were bound in chains, and hurried through a jeering mob to the Kaid's house, where they were to remain until they were given over to a cruel death. João was a brave man, and feared none of these jeers, notwithstanding they were sufficiently appalling in view of what he knew must be in store for himself and his colleagues. Their fate was sealed for next day. They lay down on their hard bed huddled together; but there was a good angel near them, of whom they never dreamed.

The Kaid had a pretty daughter, who, with the curiosity of her sex, had viewed the prisoners from a lattice window. João struck her fancy. He was young, vigorous, and handsome, and full of intelligence, differing in these respects from his com-

panions. She made up her mind to save him if possible. Her name was Rahma, and she was her father's favourite child. She was promised in marriage to an old man, a neighbour. She cared not for this man; but her inclinations were not consulted—as is the fashion in Morocco. When night came João was placed in a stable, heavily fettered, with a basin of water and coarse bread near. The fatigue of the day made him weary, and he was soon sound asleep; but not so his good angel. While her father lay asleep she silently went into his room, and quickly slipped from under his pillow the keys of the prison. Dressed in her beautiful Moorish gown, she made her way to the stable where João lay in deep and tranquil slumber. She beheld him and bent over him. He, in a sort of dream, imagined that an angel in fine raiment was near him; the low, pitiful tones of the damsel struck his ear. She said, "O Nazarene, get away from here; your life and liberty depend on it." He rubbed his eyes, thinking it was a dream, or a pleasant apparition. He soon realised that a beautiful female figure stood near, pleading with him to make haste and arise. She explained that she was the governor's daughter, and had the means to liberate and free him from his impending doom. She had taken the keys from under her father's pillow, by which she could free him from his fetters. She added, in her vehemence, that she could never be happy if her father, who was naturally cruel, put him to death.

She urged him, therefore, to fly while there was time. But João raised his arms, saying that he would die happy as the eyes of pity were upon him, and beheld her face with wonder, and admiration, for it was young and very lovely. Love, passion, and pity were mingled in her fervent eyes. Every feature seemed to reveal kindness and tenderness of heart towards him.

There she stood before him, as his guardian



MARBLE INSCRIPTION ON WALL AT SHELLAH

angel, pointing the way to liberty and safety, while he gazed at her in his bewilderment. She broke the silence to urge that time pressed. "I will unlock the door of the prison, and without stands the fleetest horse that can be found in the whole of this country. It is all ready for you, so I pray you make haste."

"But, my sweet deliverer, how will you fare if I go? Your father will be cruel to you, and perhaps he may punish you for my sake, and I would prefer death to that."

Rahma answered, "I am my father's favourite and only child; he will not harm me." She held a green earthenware lamp over him while she spake, and he could clearly see the face of the sweet girl who stood before him, and saw that tears of pity were in her eyes.

"Do you believe in God, and the day of the resurrection?" she asked João.

He answered, "I do, with all my heart."

"Then trust in Him, for He created Moslem and Christian. He is merciful and compassionate to those who believe in and love Him. I am seeking to save you, O Nazarene, from a cruel doom, for my father has determined to put you to death. I pleaded with him for your life. He had never denied me any favour. Yet he replied sternly: 'These Nazarenes are unbelievers and unworthy of pity, they do not believe in God, or the last day. They are hateful in the sight of God and all true believers, and therefore are accursed. The prisoners must die.'"

When she had said this she sobbed piteously, and then said, after a pause: "You have a kind, good face, O Nazarene. I feel assured that you must love God and that He loves you. Upon my head will be your blood if I do not save you. My father is now asleep, but I could not rest on my bed thinking of the cruel death which is prepared for you to-morrow. Can you

ride, Nazarene? can you face danger unflinchingly?" Her bright eyes shone with animation.

"I can," replied he. "I have no fear of death. I feel happy now that a woman's pity has fallen upon me."

She then bent down and took one of the keys and unlocked his fetters; then, pointing to a saddle and bridle in the stable, she continued: "Put this on the grey mare. Here are my father's spurs and a Moorish garment which will hide your Christian dress; then ride fast to the setting stars. Hesitate not; there is no time to waste. The mare never fails, and will outrun the fleetest horse. Gird on this trusty sword; it is my father's weapon."

João shook his head and pointed out that he could never do what might put her in danger, while he went free. Such a reply surprised the maid. She stamped her little foot with vexation, and urged him to fly that instant, saying, "My father loves me. He will never kill me, and I shall never be happy again if you are cruelly murdered to-morrow." But João still told her that he could not accept liberty on such terms, when her own life might thereby be endangered. To this Rahma exclaimed, "Are you mad, O Nazarene, that you neglect the chance of making your escape, and saving your life?"

"Listen, sweet maiden," he replied. "I shall never do anything to expose you to the anger of your father. I, however, hold in my possession a document which will ensure my safety, and reward your father, by raising him into a high place in his master's favour."

Rahma was now all joy and smiles at this unexpected turn of events. João then told her that he was the famous Portuguese gun-maker, and that he had been secretly offered, while at Tangier, the post of gun-maker to the Sultan, at a large salary, which he declined. He then handed her the Sultan's letter, duly signed, by his Majesty. He continued, "If you

show this to your father and tell him to take me to Court, then the Sultan will reward him with high favour, for I am the only one who can make twisted gunbarrels anywhere, and no one knows the secret but myself. My true, sweet friend, lock my fetters again, and hasten away with this letter. Then your father will not know that you unlocked them. Tell him that you found this paper when you went to look at the prisoners."

"Thanks to Almighty God," said the maiden. "He is merciful to those who trust in Him." She looked beautiful with her uplifted head, and her slim, well-proportioned figure. Her eyes were dark blue, and the dark, lovely ringlets which shaded her light olive complexion hung loosely on her shoulders. She was only sixteen years of age. She wore a loose garment of blue material, embroidered with red and green silk. It was held up round her slender waist by a broad silken sash. Her feet were bare, she wore a coral necklace, silver bracelets, and earrings: these were her only ornaments.

Before she departed João asked her name, so as to always treasure it in his memory, as the one who sought to save his life at any cost. She answered, while she hurried away, that it was Rahma. She repaired to her couch, but not to sleep. As soon as it was early morning she hurried to her father's room. He had just finished his morning devotions; he was always better-tempered then. He looked at his lovely daughter and saw that she was pale and careworn, which seemed unusual. He impatiently inquired the reason for this change. She told him that she felt miserable and very sad on account of the prisoners whose lives he proposed to sacrifice this day. He showed signs of displeasure at this, and said, "Know you not, O daughter, that your uncle was slain by the Portuguese? and these prisoners are their countrymen, and they disbelieve in God. And know you not, O daughter, that your mother—may God have mercy

upon her soul!—was a descendant of the Prophet?—upon whose head be blessings!”

“Yes,” replied Rahma, “but did not the Prophet say, ‘He that believes in God and the day of resurrection shall have his reward, although he may not be a Moslem’? The prisoner, the Nazarene in your stable, believes in God and the last day.”

When her father heard this his anger kindled, and he caught his daughter by the shoulder and asked sternly for an explanation of her words. She stood trembling before him, and told him all. She said she had never deceived him, and related her conversation with João.

While he showed resentment at her conduct, he was somewhat mollified by her courage. He read the Sultan’s letter, and exclaimed to himself, “My fortune is made if this man be really João, the gunsmith. If I took the life of this man my own would be in danger.” He next day took out João, and he, poor man, thought that his last hour was come; but as he passed through the crowd of men, women, and children he heard a gentle, sweet voice saying, “Take courage,” and knew it was that of Rahma, his faithful friend.

João would not even then accept freedom unless his two companions were freed. The chief then ordered them back to the prison until next day. Thus they gained another day’s grace. So next day João was brought alone before the chief, who met him this time with a smiling face and told him blandly that he had determined to set him free on condition that he would not attempt to escape, “with a view that you may enter the service of the Sultan as gun-maker, and I ask you to forgive the past; for that purpose I propose taking you to Court. Rahma was present, and she gave a silent warning to João to be careful in answering. He therefore answered, with due humility, that he would swear by God, “in whom you rightly said I believe, not to escape; but

I have to beg that my fellow-prisoners are set free and treated kindly." Rahma, bending down to her father's ear, whispered, "Have pity on the poor Christians. God's blessing will then be with you, O my father."

Then the chief turned to João and said, "It shall be as you wish, and I shall see these two prisoners at once." He clapped his hands but neither Umbarak nor any other attendant appeared. The chief hastily stepped into the courtyard, calling loudly for him.

João then hurriedly poured forth, in a low voice, his heartfelt thanks to the gentle Rahma, and, taking off a silver chain which he wore concealed round his neck, and to which was attached a small cross, said, "Accept this in remembrance of one who owes his life to you, and whose fondest hope will be to see you again in this world."

"Never can that be," replied Rahma, placing at the same time the chain and cross in her bosom. "We are not like the Christian women; we are kept shut up and treated as prisoners, and are not allowed to have a will of our own. My father has just told me that, on his return from Fez, I shall be married to the Chief of Zazor. I am miserable at the thought of having to live with a man I can never love." "Could you love a Nazarene who believes in God, and loves you, sweet maiden, better than life?"

The girl murmured, with a blushing face, "I could; indeed, I do love you, but all is vain."

"It shall not be in vain," said João, "for if I succeed at the Sultan's Court, where I shall assume the Moorish garb, and please his Majesty with the manufacture of guns, I shall cast myself at his feet and implore him to require that your father shall give you to me as wife. Oh, if you will only love me!"

The clanking of fetters was heard, so Rahma, snatching a silver ring from her finger, gave it to João, saying, "May God's mercy and blessing be

with us both. Trust in Him, and we may hope to meet again." She then drew back and veiled her face.

In a few days João and his companions were taken to Fez, and the Sultan was delighted to have his famous gunsmith. A house and forge were soon prepared for him, to which only the Sultan was admitted. João proved a very industrious workman, and, with his two countrymen as assistants, he worked with every satisfaction to the Sultan. One day João looked very sad, and the Sultan demanded to know the reason, so that he might help him in his distress. João replied that he was afraid his Majesty might be displeased with his story. But he assured him that he was only anxious to help him in any difficulty he might have. He then cast himself at his feet and related the whole story of Rahma, and his love, and his desire to have her as his wife, but he feared that she might even now be given to another, which made him sad.

The Sultan listened sympathetically to the story, and assured João that, if she still remained under her father's roof, Rahma should be his wife before many days. The Sultan immediately ordered some messengers and mules to go to Rahma's father and bring her back, if unmarried, for João, the gunsmith.

The poor man was buoyed up with hope that Rahma might still be single, but then again he became sad and downcast when he thought that she might be married and lost to him. In a short time his anxieties were set at rest, for the chief and his daughter Rahma arrived with a host of followers, making merry. It appeared that the man she was to marry died suddenly. So João and Rahma met again, and they rejoiced together at this unexpected meeting. The Sultan signified his intention of giving Rahma a handsome dowry, beautiful dresses, and jewelry. These were sent and the marriage contract was drawn up by the notaries, signed by the Kadi,

with a note of the dowry of 1,000 ducats, given her by the Sultan.

On the day of the marriage Rahma was placed on the back of a mule in gorgeous style, and amidst music and singing and a joyful company she was conveyed to João's house. As soon as João and his wife were alone she threw herself at her husband's feet, crying, “O beloved, God has answered our prayers. He is merciful, and now I shall always be a faithful, happy wife; but I beg of you to repeat that you believe in God and the Day of Judgment. I hope you are now one of the faithful.”

João, raising her in his arms, said, “To thee I owe my life, but I must not deceive you. I am not a Moslem; I am a Christian, and as such I believe in God and the last day.”

Rahma drew away from his arms, saying, “I cannot, I must not offend God by marrying a Christian.”

João replied, “Know you not that the Prophet married a Christian woman? O loved wife, I shall be a faithful husband, and when I explain to you my beliefs and religion you will learn that we have the same laws, except that we cannot marry more than one wife. Does such a law displease you, my Rahma?” “Swear,” she said, “that you will never divorce me and never marry another woman.” “I swear,” he replied, “that nought but death shall part us.” When she heard this she threw herself in his arms, and said that she would be for ever his loving wife, and would honour and obey him.

They lived very happily together. He taught her Portuguese and the principles of his own faith, and told her that he hoped in time to find his way back with her to his own land. Her first child she named Mary, after the mother of our Saviour.

João gained great favour in the eyes of the Sultan. The native gunsmiths were wroth, as all the royal work went to João. They determined to find out his secret. One man, a gunsmith, went

disguised as a Jew to whitewash his shop. While doing so he closely observed João's mode of work. So he came away with the whole secret in his mind.

The natives soon started in opposition, and in the course of time the Sultan favoured his own subjects, so that João's trade was almost gone. He asked leave of the Sultan to go away from Fez, on a visit to his father-in-law. This was willingly granted. He soon took his departure, having previously disposed of all his belongings. He made his way, with his wife and family, to her father-in-law and stayed there for a time. He never revealed to him his plan of returning to his own country. After some sojourn, he left, as he said, on his way back to Court. But soon he changed his course to Tangier, which was then in the hands of the Portuguese. There he was received with gladness by his countrymen. He was entertained by the governor, and his wife was received into the Christian Church. They then made a voyage to Lisbon on one of the warships. He had amassed some wealth while at the Shereefian Court, and now he was able to return to his own land, where he and his wife passed a tranquil life.

With this story I end a description of the principal ports and interior towns of Morocco. There are many other smaller towns and places of interest which are equally interesting, and well worthy of a visit by any European who may be led to take an interest in the country.

There is no particular danger in visiting many parts of Morocco, and no disguise is necessary; indeed, people using Moorish dress with the view of deceiving the natives are looked upon with contempt and as unworthy of being named either Mohammedans or Christians. Several European travellers have been mean enough to accept *mona*, or food, without paying for it, from the poor natives of Morocco, who are naturally hospitable to strangers. Nothing could lower us more in their estimation than



THE HASSAN TOWER, RABAT.

THE REAL CHARACTER OF THE MAN 53

such conduct as this. I would advise those visiting Morocco to travel as Christians, both in dress and character, to faithfully pay for what they need, to offer no insult to the natives nor offend them in any way. They will then receive a warm welcome in all the towns and villages that they may choose to visit. And on no account should any one disguise himself in Mohammedan clothing or deny being a Christian. The Mohammedans have respect for real Christians, and believe their word, which is an honour that they do not extend to their own co-religionists. The Arabs estimate the character of strangers by their acts, which they closely watch, and not by their speech, which seldom reveals the real character of the man.

CHAPTER VI

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF MOROCCO : RIVERS ; MOUNTAINS ; MINERAL WEALTH ; AGRICULTURE

THE physical aspect of Morocco is one of the grandest in Africa. The country is traversed by the great Atlas range of mountains, which reaches a height far above the line of perpetual snow. It possesses immense fertile plains and valleys through which flow rivers of considerable magnitude, which might be made navigable highways into the interior and become fertilising agencies for vast stretches of country. The undulating and mountainous character of Morocco presents features of scenery and beauty which can hardly be surpassed in any part of the world. Here a traveller may see agriculture practically carried on under the same conditions as existed in the days of Abraham. The wooden plough, which simply scratches the earth, is drawn by a camel or a pair of oxen.

The lot of the wife of the poor farmer in Morocco is by no means easy. She takes part in ploughing and other work on the land. On her often fall the drudgery and the heavy burdens of domestic life, while the lord of creation, the husband, can take his ease. There is no fear, however, of finding the husband in the public-house, as no such places of iniquity are met with in any part of the country. The country wife, amongst other duties, grinds the corn and makes the bread, and does the simple cooking required for the family, while the washing of clothes is very often the work of men. Washing

linen in Morocco is not a very heavy item in any household.

The soil of Morocco is luxuriantly fertile. Under the present inadequate scheme of cultivation it gives a marvellous yield of grain. With improved methods and a system of irrigation which, thanks to the abundant supply of water, could easily be carried out, Morocco might become one of the great granaries of the world.

Its mineral resources remain almost unexplored and undeveloped. Copper, silver, lead, antimony, and other ores of the richest description are found in various parts of the empire, and gold is said to exist. These are sources of wealth which might, if developed, prove of great commercial importance, and increase the Sultan's revenue to a considerable extent. With regard to the copper ore of the Atlas, I have had a sample tested in England some years ago. The ore was found to contain 30 per cent. of copper, a result which, I understand, is considered by experts to be satisfactory.

Morocco has one of the most genial and salubrious climates in the world, being refreshed by the breezes of the Atlantic Ocean and tempered by the snow-capped Atlas in the distance, rendering this country a delightful habitation for man. But although it possesses great commercial advantages, situated so near Europe, having a splendid climate, most fertile soil, rivers suitable for navigation, and great mineral wealth, nothing can be more deplorable than its political, social, and commercial condition. Although distant only three hours' steam from Gibraltar, in respect of religion, learning, and the arts and amenities of social life, its people are removed from European civilisation by the lapse of many centuries.

In Morocco the traveller finds himself carried back to manners and habits of ages long past, to a revival of scenes which have attracted the notice of the earliest historians of the human race. On the one

hand he beholds an order of men who, like the patriarchs of Arabia, are still engaged in the occupations of pastoral life, living in tents and sustaining themselves on the produce of their flocks; on the other he may see a community of carriers conveying the commodities of foreign lands across their wide deserts by means of transport still of the most primitive kind. All goods to and from the remotest part are transported on the backs of animals or of men on beaten tracks which have been used for ages; roads, wheeled carts, and carriages are unknown in the whole empire. Everywhere the traveller may behold, lying waste and uncultivated, large tracks of land which, if the inhabitants were encouraged to improve and granted security for the produce of their labour, would undoubtedly become a source of wealth to the country.

Extensive forests are to be found in various parts of the country. One of the principal trees is the argan, which is found in the neighbourhood of Mogador. From the yellow berries of this tree is extracted by the natives, in a primitive fashion, oil which serves both for lighting and cooking, and commands a higher price in the market than olive-oil. The arar is another valuable tree. It is finely grained and somewhat fragrant, and its heavy wood is much prized in cabinet-making. A large arar-wood stands in the district of Gela Wisam, about twenty-five miles south of Mogador. The cork-tree is most abundant in the eastern districts of the empire. The oak and a tree called laris, similar to the Scotch birch, grows in this country, also varieties of palm, fig, olive, gum, almond, and orange, and especially the vine, which grows in almost every district. These are the known trees of Morocco, but it must be borne in mind that many parts of the empire are unknown to European travellers, so that there may be many more kinds of trees in the country than those enumerated above.

The domestic animals of Morocco are camels,

horses, mules, asses, cattle, sheep, goats, dogs, and cats. Of all the domestic animals the camel is perhaps the most useful to the Moors. He can travel through waterless districts, carrying heavy burdens. He exists on scrub, and the female camel supplies rich milk to his master, who can subsist for a long time, when travelling, on this and pressed dates. The mule, which is used as a beast of burden, is much prized by the rich Moors for riding. A good one will cost as much as £80. The donkey is the poor man's animal. He carries a burden for his master to market, and he is his constant companion. Horses are mostly used for war; they are very pretty animals, and good-natured, sure-footed, and hardy, with great powers of endurance.

The wild animals are the boar, hyena, aoudad, lynx, jackal, fox, wild cat, genet, porcupine, gazelle, antelope, hare, weasel, stoat, ground-squirrel, otter, and the lion and leopard, which are found in the Atlas Mountains and farther south.

There are a good many varieties of birds in Morocco; the following is a fair list of them: fowls, bustard, lesser bustard, heron, partridge, sand-grouse, wood-pigeon, rock-pigeon, turtle-dove, quail, plover, cream-coloured courser, curlew, snipe, woodcock, duck, teal, blackbird, lark, magpie, raven, carrion-crow, eagle, falcon, hawk, little bittern, kingfisher, godwit, flamingo, spoonbill, ibis, oyster-catcher, stilt-red-shank, greenshank, turnstone, sandpiper, finches, sparrows, swallows and swifts, striated bunting, gulls, cormorants, stags, shearwaters, etc.

The fish along the coast of Morocco is somewhat similar to that found on the coast of Portugal. There is no fishing industry established by the Moors on their extensive coasts, although there is ample scope for such a trade. The natives catch enough for their own wants. The principal fish are the chad, bream, grey and red mullet, sardines, anchovies, etc.

It will be seen, by the animals, birds, and fish I

have enumerated that Morocco holds out every inducement to the sportsman who desires to spend his time pleasantly amongst a primitive people.

I will now turn to agriculture, which is, after all, the mainstay of any country. In Morocco, however, it is carried on as I have already stated, in its most primitive form. All the implements used are native-made, and the soil is only scratched, not ploughed. The arable land is of great extent, and if only properly worked would produce tenfold more than it does at present. The soil is naturally very rich, and even with the wretched agricultural implements now used it produces excellent crops of wheat, barley, maize, beans, pease, and chick-peas. Wheat and barley are not allowed free exportation; this appears to be a custom of ancient times. It no doubt originated as a matter of precaution to keep the grain in store for bad years, if they happened to come. In former times this was a wise policy, but it is utterly useless in the present day. Crops are now produced everywhere, and grain has become so cheap that, should any country be in want, it could be supplied with facility. The restrictions put on barley have had a most injurious effect, for farmers find that it often costs more to reap than it is worth. Lentils, sesame seed, aniseed, cummin-seed, and fenugreek are cultivated in considerable quantities and exported to foreign countries.

The Moorish agriculturists form themselves into small communities for mutual protection. The nomadic portion have encampments or douars, from which they look after their flocks. The more settled portion of the inhabitants live in villages, or hamlets in some convenient spot. Each douar and village has a chief who is invested with authority for governing and superintending these places, and then over all is a governor who also administers the province in which these settlements are situated. The Moors residing in these country districts live in

the utmost simplicity, and present a faithful picture of the earth's inhabitants in the first ages. In the milk and wool of their flock they find everything necessary for their food and clothing. It is their custom to have several wives, who are employed in all domestic affairs. They milk the cows and make butter, they sort and sift the wheat and barley, gather vegetables, and grind flour. This is done in a mill composed of two round stones eighteen inches in diameter, in the upper one of which is fixed a handle by which it is made to turn on an axle. Bread is made daily between two earthen plates, which are heated by the fire.

This is a fair outline of the simple life as practised by the country people of Morocco. The march of modern civilisation, which has changed the habits and customs of the inhabitants of Europe, has left Morocco untouched. Its people remain indifferent to what is taking place amongst the nations around them. They cling to their old ways with an astonishing tenacity, but I expect that if they were brought into contact with rural life in other countries they would in time adopt it themselves in probably a modified form. The best means for carrying out these changes would be that Europeans should be permitted to acquire land in any part of the country. In this way the Moors would be brought to a practical knowledge of the value of modern appliances. On account of their natural intelligence they would be quick to see its advantages for themselves, and in time the old order of things, which has stood unaltered from the days of the early patriarchs, would fade away and disappear altogether from the land of the Khalifate of the West.

CHAPTER VII

POPULATION ; DIVISION OF RACES

It would be impossible, in the present state of Morocco, to give anything like an accurate estimate of the population of the country. It has been placed as low as three millions, and as high as fourteen millions, Six millions, in my judgment, is a safe estimate. It may be resolved into three great divisions—Arabs, Berbers, and Jews. The Christians, who are at present small in number, can hardly be classed as a portion of the permanent inhabitants of the country.

The Arabs are the conquerors of Morocco, and from them are drawn the rulers and many of the officials of the Moorish Government. The Berbers, who form probably two-thirds of the population, are the aborigines, the ancient Mauritians. These undoubtedly belong to the great Celtic races who made their way into Europe and northern Africa. Their habits and language seem to confirm this view. The Berbers are a warlike race, and lovers of independence. They very often defy the Sultan and his forces. They live in towns and villages, and are not nomads like the Arabs ; they engage in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Indeed, they are the backbone of the country, and without them the Arabs would be nowhere.

It is to the Berbers that I look as the future regenerators of Morocco. If they had only the advantages of education and unity they would carry everything before them. They were Christians before the Mohammedan invasion and there is every hope that they may yet be found ranged under the banner of the Cross. This can be accomplished by



RUINS OF MOSQUE, RABAT.

education, and I hope that some of the readers of these pages may turn their attention in that direction.

The establishment of schools among the Berbers, without any regard to sects, would work wonders in a few years if undertaken in the proper spirit. The pure Arab is more difficult to deal with. He is fanatical, and Eastern habits cling to him more firmly than with the Berber. The Arabs of to-day are tinged with a good deal of negro blood and the blood of the races from which their wives are taken. Many of the Berbers, on the other hand, are fair in complexion; with the exception of dress and language, they might pass for Europeans.

The Jews form the third division of the population. They are supposed to number about 200,000. Persecution drove them from many places to seek a home in Morocco. Their position in that country is by no means pleasant. The towns in which they reside have always a quarter set aside for their habitation, as if they are considered by the Moors to be unclean. These quarters are known as the Mellah. Their gate must be closed at sunset, and they must not be found in the Mohammedan quarter after that hour. They must take off their slippers when they issue out into the Mohammedan quarter, and sometimes they find live coals placed on their way to burn their feet. They must wear a black turban, or fez, as a mark of inferiority. Of course, those of them who are under foreign protection are privileged; but this is the rule applying to the ordinary Jews who are not protected.

The Jews are despised and persecuted, and yet, with all these drawbacks, they prosper and flourish. They may be said to be the only monied people in the country. The Jew is always resorted to by Moors and others when money is required and undoubtedly he makes hard terms with those who may want any. In this way the Jews often become the masters of the farmers, governors, and government officials

of Morocco, and obtain for themselves security and advantages that they would not otherwise gain. The greatest part of the commerce of the country passes through their hands, they appear at market all over the country, and act as money-changers and bankers for the Moors. At one time they were much more oppressed than they are at present.

Sir Moses Montefiore was so impressed by the cruelties suffered by his co-religionists in Morocco that he visited the country and made such representations to the foreign Governments that they extended their good offices to the Jews, and their lot has been improved ever since. It was through Sir Moses' efforts that schools were established in Morocco, institutions that have been of the greatest benefit to the Jews. While there are very many excellent Jews in Morocco, from whom I have received much kindness, there are others who abuse the protection that has been extended to them by oppressing unmercifully the natives of Morocco, and casting very often innocent persons into prison on false claims. For one of the principal branches of their business is usury, and woe to the Moor who falls into their clutches. Not only is he not allowed to get his freedom until he pays the uttermost farthing of the amount lent, but the most exorbitant interest which is included. They abuse the protégé system far more than any other class of people in the whole of Morocco.

The Jews are governed by their own law in any questions or disputes between themselves. For this purpose Rabbis are appointed by the Moorish authorities. There is more bribery and corruption in the administration of the law among the Jews than among the Arabs. The Jews are employed in all sorts of trades, from the merchant of high standing to the wandering spice-seller. Their testimony is not admitted in a court of law. Some of the work imposed upon them is most loathsome, such as cleaning sewers, carrying away carcases of dead cattle, and in times

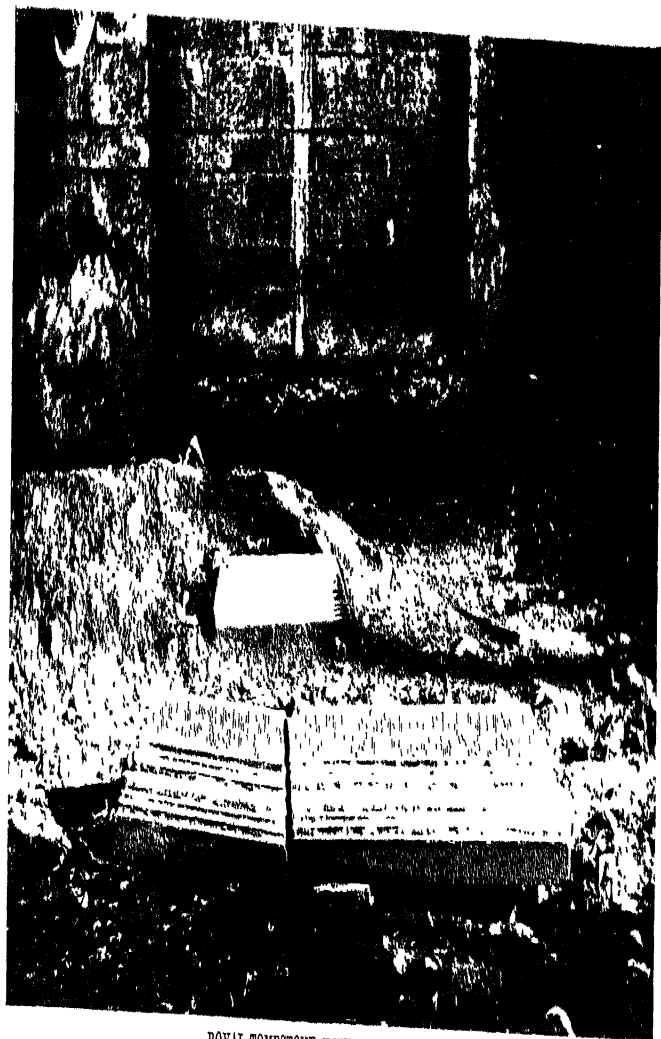
of war, when the heads of dead enemies are brought into towns as trophies and have to be hanged at the gates, the Jews have to salt them. They have performed this office from ancient times, and the quarter of the town in which they reside is on that account called The Salt, or Mellah. In all cases where they appear before the Moorish tribunals they seldom, if ever, get a decision in their favour, inasmuch as no Mohammedan will give evidence in support of their case, and their own testimony is worthless. But it is to be hoped that, when the Moors become more enlightened, and the Jews themselves have improved their own methods, their lot will be bettered. They are undoubtedly in a great measure to blame for the hardships which they have suffered for so many centuries at the hands of the Moors.

We will now consider the religions of the Berbers and Arabs. They all profess the Mohammedan faith, for which they are in a measure indebted to the despised Jews. They own the Jewish prophets as belonging to their own faith, and also Jesus, whom they name the Spirit of God ; but Mohammed is considered by them the last and the greatest prophet that the world has ever seen.

They are divided into a large number of sects. Those who follow the Grand Shereef of Wazan are the most important. People in this country have no idea to what an extent the worship of man is carried on in Morocco. It is when the Grand Shereef is travelling that his influence and the reverence in which he is held are most noticeable. He travels either on horseback or on a litter. The route along which he passes is thronged with enormous crowds of people. All strive to touch him, his horse, or anything belonging to him. By this they think to obtain the divine blessing. When he rests and takes his seat on a carpet supplicants from all parts are admitted. Here is one bringing a sheep and requesting that his wife may give birth to a son ; there one bringing

corn and imploring a blessing for his fields. There one wants to know if he will be doing well to sell his horse, and if he will be fortunate in buying such and such a horse; here, a blind man wants to see. The Grand Shereef helps all, and the more valuable the gift the more powerful the blessing.

Other Mohammedans farther south follow Dur-cowie Ben Nassir and other minor religious leaders. The most fanatical sect in Morocco is the Aissawa, or the followers of Jesus. They have neither appointed president nor any regulations. They recognise the Prophet Jesus as their Spiritual Chief, and claim to be able to work miracles in His name, quoting that passage of the Koran in which Mohammed says that he had not the gift of working miracles, but God bestowed it on Jesus. These Aissawas are very numerous in Morocco. They profess to take scorpions in their hands and let venomous serpents crawl over their bodies, to swallow snakes, nails, pounded glass, sharp-pointed stones and hot coals, calling all the time upon God and Jesus. They also beat themselves until they are streaming with blood, and commit other barbarities. The worship of saints is very common in Morocco, and their descendants are also considered holy men. The founder of the sect of Ben Nassir was Sidi Hammed, a celebrated saint, but no descendant of Mohammed the Prophet. To make up for that Allah was said to have endowed him, on account of his great piety, with the gift of being able to converse with animals in their own language. Pilgrims resort regularly to the tomb of this saint, bringing gifts which they lay at the feet of his descendants. The Moorish idea of the Judgment Day is that every one must pass the bridge of Sirat, fine as a hair and sharp as a sword. The righteous pass over as swift as a flash of lightning, the wicked fall into the pit below. At the resurrection the righteous will be clad in white linen, the wicked will appear without any clothes. Those



ROYAL TOMBSTONE WITH INSCRIPTION, SHELLAH

who have amassed wealth dishonestly will appear as swine, and those who have taken usury with their heads where their feet ought to be. For this reason those who lend money do not take interest, but instead demand double or treble the amount of the loan. When a Moor dies he is examined in the grave by two angels, Munker and Nakir. If it appears that he is an orthodox Moslem, all is well; if not, he is beaten with iron clubs on the temples, and bitten by venomous beasts. Every act of a Moor is preceded by "Be ism Allah," or "In the name of God." He says it when he gets up in the morning, when he puts on his clothes, when he goes out into the street, when he chastises his wife or children, when he receives charity, when he assassinates his enemy, when he goes into the Mosque, when he swears a false oath, when he is going off to sleep, and when he is dying. All the Moors believe in Jesus Christ, and they call Him Roah Allah, or the "Spirit of God." They are all fatalists. They believe that everything that will happen is written; for instance, their soothsayers have prophesied that the Christians will one day invade Fez. To this they answer, "May God confound them! but perhaps it is written."

The poor and insane are very much honoured by the Moors, and the latter permitted to go about without any restraint.

There is no aristocracy in Morocco in our sense of the word. The highest classes are called Shereefs, or descendants of the Prophet. These have multiplied exceedingly. The Shereefs form a privileged class, having the right to insult people without fear of receiving similar compliments in return. They have also the right of asking and receiving donations from the faithful. The Mohammedan religion is undoubtedly the bond which unites these people together, and would make them rise to withstand any great calamity to their country in the form of invasion or attempted annexation by any foreign power.

CHAPTER VIII

RULERS OF MOROCCO; THE DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTRY

MOROCCO is divided into five great provinces—Fez, Morocco, Sus, Draa, and Taflet. In ancient times these provinces were independent kingdoms, but for a very long period they have been united into one empire under a sovereign of the Taflet royal family, descendants of the Prophet Mohammed. The Moors, unlike other people, have no law of succession. The reigning Sultan of Morocco can only recommend his successor, whom he nominates during his life-time, by giving him the umbrella and a command of a portion of the army.

After the decease of a Sultan the various members of the royal family meet and pray that a certain person named by one of the conclave be Sultan. After this formality of election has been gone through, he must have the approval of the Grand Shereef of Wazan, the spiritual head of the faithful and descendant of the Prophet, and second only in power to the Sultan. After the Sultan has been elected, heralds are sent to every town to announce the succession of the new sovereign. The army is generally bribed by whatever treasure may be left by the late Sultan. When once the sovereign has been proclaimed, he is invested with full autocratic power, which none can dispute, and has full control over the lives, liberty, and property of his subjects. It is said that he is powerless before the spiritual law, but this is a fallacy, for no judge in Morocco would dare disapprove the Sultan's acts.

Although this is the actual order in which the Sultan of Morocco should be elected, it does not follow that this mode is always carried out. There are many claimants of royal blood to the throne of Morocco who will not take things quietly. Civil war may rage throughout the country for many years before the question is finally settled; the stronger man who is also able to bribe freely wins the day. The throne of Morocco is by no means a bed of roses, as the late and present Sultans have found out.

The Sultan's Government consists of a Prime Minister, a Minister for the Home Department, a High Chamberlain, and two Ministers for Foreign Affairs, one at the Court and another at Tangier. These ministers transmit the royal edicts to functionaries throughout the country, and are generally selected from those most learned in the department to which they are appointed. Although no remuneration is attached to the posts, they are valuable and profitable positions on account of the bribery and corruption practised by all State officials. In this State Council the Sultan is supposed to be sole ruler and dictator; but although he may be very despotic, his acts are mostly guided by what his ministers suggest, more particularly the Prime Minister, or Grand Vizier, who may be considered the real ruler of Morocco, all communications to or with the Sultan being made with his knowledge, and only such as are of a pleasing character being allowed to reach his Majesty.

The rulers of Morocco have always suffered from serious drawbacks. They have never left their own land. Their world is comprised within their own dominions. Their ideas of Christians are gathered from the many unsatisfactory specimens they see around them. They are flattered by their ministers and courtiers, and made to feel that they are great potentates and that their country is the most important and most powerful in the world. And then

each is exalted with the idea that he is, as the Khalif of the West, the Commander of the Faithful, whose will on that account no one can dispute. One of the best things that could happen to Morocco would be that its ruler should visit Europe and come in contact with his fellow-sovereigns, and examine for himself modern civilisation, and see the busy world around him and the prosperity and contentment which arise from good government, representing the people. He could examine the great and varied institutions established in civilised Europe for the well-being and happiness of the people, the wonderful inventions which have brought into touch and fellowship nations far distant from each other; also the great power and might of other countries, which would surpass anything he could think or imagine. These and other wonders would open his eyes to the littleness of his own empire compared with the great nations of Christendom. Facts like these, arrayed before his eyes, would do more to impress him than the talk of all the foreign ministers who are sent to his country.

It seems somewhat strange that, while the rulers of almost every distant country in the world visit Europe, the Sultans of Morocco should prefer to remain in their own country, dreaming of a greatness which does not exist. Whilst this is the case they cannot be expected to have liberal ideas of progress. They keep the country stagnant, and impoverish themselves and their subjects. The ablest Sultan of Morocco in recent years was Muley El Hassan, the father of the present Sultan. He ruled with a strong hand where he could reach. He was feared, but not loved. He kept all the pretenders to his throne out of the way and made his seat fairly safe for Morocco. If this ruler could have been induced to introduce reforms he would no doubt have carried them through. He was, however, surrounded by narrow-minded and corrupt ministers who loved their own pockets and forgot their country's welfare.

This monarch went nearer visiting Europe than any former Sultan by paying a visit to Tangier, where the foreign ministers reside, together with a whole host of Christians of several nationalities. These inhabitants would be particularly hateful to the Khalifa of the West. A great fuss was made by all parties of the community to give his Shereefian Majesty a cordial welcome. I do not think the visit of his Majesty to the hotbed of Christians did himself or his ministers any harm. It probably did good, and if he had lived he would very likely have made other visits to the hateful spot.

Although Morocco is very extensive, the Sultan's rule does not extend over perhaps more than half of the country. In a great many districts his authority is defied by the tribes, who refuse to pay him taxes. It is this chronic state of unrest which causes the continual wars that are taking place in Morocco. It always has been so, and will continue until some good and stable government is established. If it were not for the religion the whole country would fall to pieces; this is the only bond that binds them together. The Sultan could, in an emergency, appeal to these wild, independent tribes as their spiritual chief, and his appeal would not be in vain, if the object was to repel any invasion of the Christians.

The Sultans of Morocco are troubled with domestic afflictions. They are over-married, and burdened with too many wives or concubines. As I have already stated, the Koran allows a Mohammedan four wives at one time, and concubines without number. It is only the wealthy who can indulge in this so-called luxury. I have asked many a hard-working poor Moor as to how many wives he had, and he has replied, "I find one quite enough for me." But a Sultan, on account of his great wealth and high position, can take full advantage of the privileges granted by the Koran.

A Sultan, when succeeding to the throne of Morocco, succeeds at the same time to all his predecessor's

wives, which in many cases proves to be a burdensome legacy. Of course he has choice specimens of females brought from distant markets for his amusement and pleasure. Muley El Hassan had a favourite wife who came from Circassia, a celebrated market for female beauty. By her he had a son, who was named Abdul Aziz and whom he destined for his successor. The mother was perhaps the most intelligent of his many wives, and it was hoped that, when he should succeed, his reign would prove a turning-point in the destinies of the Moorish Empire, and that some rays of the civilisation of Christian Europe would be permitted to enter into his distracted country.

When Muley El Hassan was gathered to his fathers Abdul Aziz reigned in his stead. He certainly ascended the throne without bloodshed, and very soon gave clear indications that he was tolerant, was favourable to Christians, and not averse from having their guidance in improving the state of his country. This was indeed a golden opportunity for the well-wishers of Morocco. Abdul Aziz, having given indications of his desire to come into contact with Christians, he soon found himself surrounded by a horde of designing Europeans, whose only object was to enrich themselves at his and his country's expense. A lot of nonsense was sent home to the newspapers of England and other countries, which in very many cases did much harm and embarrassed the position of the young Sultan. Reforms for the administration of the whole empire were proposed, which his Majesty was anxious to carry out.

In 1903 he received with evident pleasure an address from the Howard Association on behalf of the prisoners, also a copy of the life of the late Elizabeth Fry. He granted interviews to Mr. Henry Gurney, who gave him good advice, and that gentleman was favourably impressed with his Majesty. The Sultan went so far on that occasion that he adopted Mr. Gurney's suggestion that inspectors

should be appointed to see that prisoners were properly fed, and that no one should be detained in prison longer than was necessary. But on account of the troubles which afterwards arose between the Sultan and France, there was no money left for the payment of the salaries of the inspectors; this excellent reform was therefore dropped. It seems to me that the first improvement which the Powers should insist upon the present Sultan carrying out is the appointment of inspectors of prisons on the lines marked out by his predecessor.

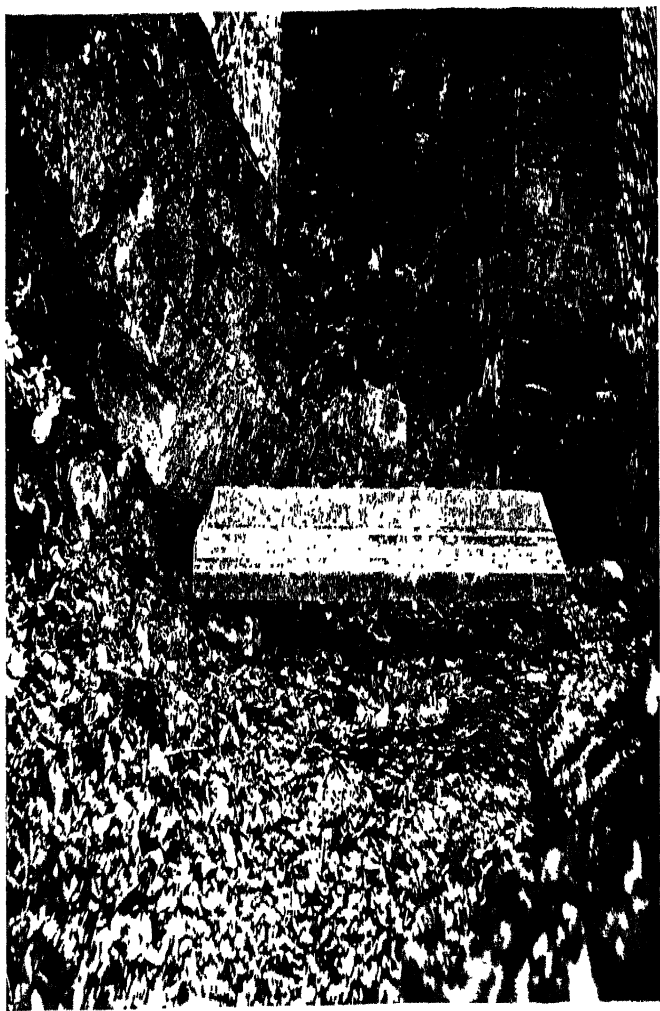
At that time there was every prospect of better things, but the poor Sultan did not reckon that he had around him a horde of European adventurers, newspaper correspondents, concession-hunters, etc., whose sole object was to exploit himself and his country purely for their own gain and profit. Not only that, but in order to obtain their object they pandered to the lowest tastes of human creatures, by bringing young girls from Europe to Court for the Sultan's amusement and pleasure. Their conduct reflected great discredit on their respective countries. Indeed, a gentleman wrote very truly at the time that "what Abdul Aziz requires is capable advisers who will seek the good of his country, instead of filling their own pockets."

The Moors were by no means indifferent spectators of their Sultan's friendship with Europeans. They saw that these foreign advisers were likely to do much harm to himself and his country, and on that account he soon lost the confidence of the natives, who showed their wrath against the Christians by murdering a missionary, Mr. Cooper; but even then the Sultan wished to befriend the Christians. He promptly punished the culprit and compensated voluntarily the widow to the extent of £1,000 from his own purse. The natives did not object to Christians as such; what they objected to was to see around the Sultan adventurers who were more inclined

to ruin the country than to raise it from its present degradation.

I am quite convinced that if at this juncture the young Sultan had cleared his Court of these undesirables, and asked England or any other country to send him a good and experienced adviser, the bulk of the Moors would have hailed it with joy and supported him through it. The opportunity, however, was lost, and he found his difficulties increasing. The holy men who abound in Morocco, and who are always a thorn in the sides of the rulers of that country, came on the scene preaching a holy war against the Christians. My friend of the Sahara, Sheikh Ma El Aineen, came with his fanatical followers proclaiming, like Peter the Hermit, a holy war against all unbelievers. The Sultan's cares were increased by the Anglo-French agreement. The Moors before that event looked upon England as their protector in all their troubles, but this agreement swept away the comforting hope. Soon after that the German Emperor made his appearance at Tangier, and the Moors hailed him as a deliverer from all their sorrows. It, however, culminated in the Conference of Algeciras. This seemed for the moment to threaten to put the old Empire of the West into the melting-pot, but that protracted Conference ended more favourably than was expected.

The independence of Morocco was in a manner assured, but the internal troubles of that country increased. The Sultan was surrounded by pretenders, the battles went against him, and finally he abandoned the struggle and left the throne to his brother, Muley Hafid. Abdul Aziz was able to withdraw from public life without the fatal cup of coffee, for which he ought to be thankful. He retired to Tangier and lives in a fine house which he has had built on the hill near that town. He likes receiving visits from the European ministers and old friends, and often regrets that, when he was Sultan, he had not had his present experience of what he could have done for his people.



ROYAL TOMBSTONE WITH INSCRIPTION, SHELLAH.

Muley Hafid has proved himself stronger than Abdul Aziz, and has kept down, with a strong hand, the crop of pretenders who infest his country and tries to rule as a true Moor—that is, by cruelty. He seems to be a clever man in many ways. He shows sufficient sense to know that the Algeciras Act is the only security his country possesses against outside interference, and always refers to it when foreign representatives put any unpleasant or awkward questions to him.

It is very unfortunate that he forgets his creed by indulging too much, as he is reported to do, in ardent spirits, which makes him sometimes quite stupid and unable to attend to affairs; but let us hope that he may overcome this vice. I would advise him to think seriously of the position of his country, for although the Algeciras Act so far assures the independence of his country, its maintenance depends now more than ever on the acts of his own Governments. If these pages ever reach his Shereefian Majesty, I would advise him most earnestly not to rely too much on the disinterested motives of those around him. The salvation of the country is in his own hands, and that of his people. I would exhort him to seek a good and experienced adviser, recommended by the British or some other Government, and competent officers to train his troops in the use of modern arms; also to gather around him the wisest and most honest of his own people as a State Council to guide his acts in home and foreign affairs. Let him establish schools throughout his dominions—institutions which will help to raise his people from the depths of ignorance in which they are now sunk. Let him clearly explain to his people his motive—that is to say, that this action is for improving the condition of his people and for guaranteeing their independence as a nation. Let him also make public roads for the convenience of trade, pay all officials, levy a just tax on all, put robbery and corruption down with a strong hand, and guarantee security to the lives and property

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of his subjects. Then he will earn their love and good-will; he will by these measures raise the empire from its present degraded condition to a high state of civilisation and influence, and cover his own name with everlasting glory and honour. He has splendid material to work upon, which only requires the master mind to set it in motion.

The Sultan of Morocco may rest assured that, unless he takes these questions to heart, the independence of his old and interesting empire will disappear, and his people will become subject to a foreign yoke. It may come through bloodshed, but come it will.

CHAPTER IX

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO

DIPLOMATIC relations have been held with Morocco by the Christian Powers of Europe for many centuries past. In the seventeenth century the Khalifs of the West considered themselves mighty sovereigns. At that period of Moorish history the foreign ambassadors were subjected to many humiliations. They brought them tribute every time they visited the Court, and had to dismount before entering into the city gate as a sign of inferiority. This custom was finally broken through by a proud French ambassador, who replied, when ordered to alight by the guard at the city gate, that a minister of France would never dismount for any one, and rode on. This action put an end to the requirement, and the tribute that was paid, which really lowered the prestige of European nations, took in after-years the form of presents, a custom which continues to the present day.

The fiction of superiority over the Christians is still upheld. When a European minister pays a visit to Court the Sultan receives him in an open space. His Majesty comes in mounted on a beautifully caparisoned charger, while the foreign minister stands on the ground bareheaded before him, under the full rays of the African sun. After these formalities are gone through the presents, or in other words the ancient tribute, are presented to his Majesty.

That the relations existing between the rulers of Morocco and European princes were not always pleasant in ancient times is shown by a letter from

the Sultan of Morocco to Don John of Austria, dated July 28, 1569. In it his Shereefian Majesty relates the hardships which his ancestors, kings of Granada, had received, and particularly those done to himself, for only wearing a dagger, and to his parents and brother, now in the galleys, for whose release he promises to send back 400 prisoners, whom he will burn alive in case his parents and brother receive further ill usage. On March 4, 1592, the Sultan of Morocco writes to Queen Elizabeth, excusing himself for the long delay in answering the Queen's letter on behalf of the Prince of Portugal, and requests her Majesty to send him aid. At a later period the Sultan sends another letter, to King Charles I. of England, apprising him of a victory gained over the rovers of Sallee, and desiring his aid by sea and land against those of Tunis, Algiers, and other places.

The Sultans of Morocco at that period, and up to the last century, captured Christians and held them in bondage. Many are the tales of the horrible cruelties which they suffered. Some were handed back to freedom on the payment of ransom, while others, less fortunate, were held in slavery for the rest of their miserable days. Happily this state of things regarding Christians no longer exists. Undoubtedly the bitter feeling which the Moors entertained against all Christians in those days was engendered by the terrible cruelties which were inflicted by the fanatical Catholics of Spain on the Moors at the time of their expulsion from the Peninsula.

The cruelties of that dark period of Spanish history have never been forgotten. Let us hope that, as time goes, our own conduct and teaching may gain the sympathy and good-will of the Moors, and so prepare them for a higher life.

Our own diplomatic relations with Morocco in modern times were conducted through that able diplomatist Sir John D. Hay. His father had been

Consul for many years in the same country, and thus Sir John inherited advantages in undertaking a post which was very difficult to hold in every sense of the word, and often in after-years brought him into sharp conflict with his opponents. The policy which he pursued to the end was to maintain Morocco as an independent State. He opposed, with all his skill, any scheme that might tend to bring the country under the power of any foreign State. Many accusations were made against him during his forty-two years of diplomatic service. It was said that his sway over Morocco was all-powerful, and he could have improved the government of the country if he cared, but that he wished to keep the country closed against every enterprise; in short, that he did not want the country opened up by his own countrymen or those of other nations.

I do not think that all these accusations were well-founded. Sir John assured me that he had made many proposals to the Foreign Office, during the time he was minister, for improving the condition of Morocco, and that nothing had ever been done to carry them out. I had an interview with him in London, through the courtesy of the Foreign Office, which confirmed this. The result of that interview appeared in a letter of mine to the *Times*, which was published in that journal on January 30, 1885. He made similar statements to me in the following year, which appeared in the report which I addressed to the Foreign Office in the same year.

I can quite understand that many difficulties lay in his path. One of his great troubles had been the Spanish occupation after the war of 1860. He assisted the Moorish Government to clear the Spanish troops out of the country with as little delay as possible, with a view of upholding the integrity of the Moorish Empire. There is no doubt that, in this matter, he earned the gratitude of the Moors.

It may be added that, in connection with this, a loan was negotiated in London by the Moorish Government for £500,000. I am glad to record that it was faithfully and punctually paid. I think in his closing years Sir John was more anxious than he had ever been before to improve matters in Morocco, which seems to be confirmed by his interview with the Sultan. It is like a chapter out of the life of Haroun El Rashid. We give the account in his own words :

"The Sultan received me in a Kubba, where he was seated on a divan. As I approached his Majesty, motioning me to a gilt arm-chair placed close to the divan, he requested me to be seated. He then dismissed the chamberlains and other attendants. Thus we were alone. After a friendly conversation in which I thanked the Sultan for his hospitality and the attention I had received during my stay at the Court, I said, 'With your Majesty's permission, I am about to put a strange question.'

"'Say on,' said the Sultan, 'for I know, whatever you say, yours will be the words of a true friend, as you have ever been.'

"Then I continued: 'I beg to know whether your Majesty would desire to listen to the language of flattery, words that will give you joy and pleasure, admiration of all I have seen and learnt during my long residence in your dominions, or whether your Majesty would elect that I should speak out the truth, and make known, without reserve, that which may give your Majesty pain, distress, and even, it may be feared, offence.'

"The Sultan, looking very grave, replied: 'This is the first time in my life that I have been asked by any man whether I would choose to hear what might give me pain, or even offence, or listen to that which may please and flatter me. I select the former.'

"I bowed and said: 'Before I proceed further will you graciously promise not to take offence at

the language I am about to hold, and that I shall not lose your Majesty's good opinion and friendship through rashness of speech?'

"The Sultan replied, 'Say on; you have been, are, and will ever remain, a true friend.'

" 'I will premise,' I then said, 'by declaring that the administration of the Government in Morocco is the worst in the world.'

"The Sultan looked startled, and frowned.

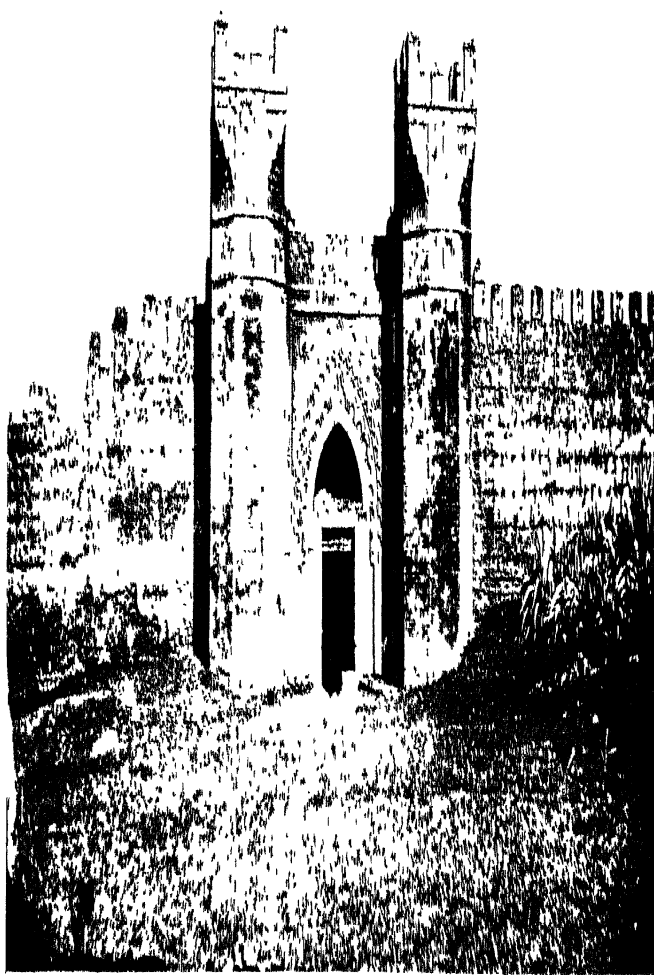
" 'The present system and form of government was not introduced by your Majesty, nor indeed by your sire or grandsire, and therefore your Majesty is not responsible for the wretched, impoverished state of this fine country, or of the population over which your Majesty reigns. The form of government was inherited from your forefathers. After their withdrawal from Spain, where for centuries they had led the van of the world in art, sciences, literature, and agriculture, they set aside, on their return to Morocco, the just laws and administration of government which had made them the grand people they were, and, I will add, might again become. Their descendants inherit the same blood, bone, and brain. Therefore, it is to be inferred that, under a just government, with security of life and property, the Moorish people might again rise, and become as their ancestors were—one of the richest and most powerful nations in the world.

" 'At the present time the government of Morocco is like a community of fishes: the giant fish feed upon those that are small, the smaller upon the least, and these again feed on the worms. In like manner the Vizier and other dignitaries of the Court who receive no salaries depend for their livelihood upon peculation, trickery, corruption, and the money they extract from the governors of provinces and other governors. The governors are likewise enriched through peculation from tithes and taxes, and extortion from sheikhs, wealthy farmers, and

traders. A Moor who becomes rich is treated as a criminal. Neither life nor property is secure. Sheikhs and other subordinate officials subsist on what they can extort from the farmers and peasantry. Then again, even the jailers are not paid; they gain their livelihood by taking money from prisoners, who, when they are paupers, are taught to make strong baskets, which are sold by the jailers for their own benefit.

“ ‘How can a country, how can a people prosper under such a government? The tribes are in a constant state of rebellion against their governors. When the Sultan resides in his northern capital of Fez the southern tribes rebel, and when he marches south to the city of Morocco, eating up the rebels and confiscating their property, the northern tribes rebel. The armies of the Sultan, like locusts, are constantly on the move, ravaging the country to quell the revolt. Agriculture is destroyed, the farmers and peasantry only grow sufficient grain for their own requirements, and rich lands are allowed to lie fallow because the farmers know the crops would be plundered by the governors and sheikhs. Thus it happens with cattle and horses. Breeding is checked, since the man who may become rich through his industry is treated as a criminal, and all his possessions are taken from him, as in the fable the goose is killed to get the golden eggs.

“ ‘With dominions as extensive as those of Spain or France, with a rich soil which can produce all that can be grown in Europe, Morocco is poor and weak. Even compared with the lesser nations, like Denmark and Holland, which kingdoms do not possess a third of the land Morocco has, while half of the year the ground in those northern countries is covered with snow and ice, yet they have revenues tenfold that of Morocco, highly disciplined armies, formidable navies. They have roads, bridges, railroads, with cities and towns containing palaces, handsome, well-paved streets, lit by gas, and other modern improvements,



GATEWAY, SHELLAH.

such as are to be seen in the largest capitals of the world. The just administration of the laws and security of life and property have produced this state of welfare, and the people are content and happy, and do not rebel. The wealth of these countries is always on the increase. No sovereign minister, governor, or other high official can take from any man a stiver of money, or an inch of land. Every officer employed by the sovereign is paid, and therefore does not depend for his livelihood, as in Morocco, on peculation, extortion, bribery, and corruption.'

"The Sultan here remarked that his subjects were an ignorant and lawless people, quite unfit to be governed in the lenient manner I had described, that unless they were treated with severity and were not allowed to enrich themselves they would show a more rebellious spirit than they do even at the present time. A lenient administration, he repeated, was not suited to the wild races of Morocco.

"To this I replied, 'At your Majesty's request I applied in past years to the British Government for permission to allow two hundred of your Majesty's subjects to be sent to Gibraltar, for the purpose of being instructed in the drill and discipline of British foot-soldiers. The British Government acceded to your Majesty's request. A body of two hundred Moors was sent to Gibraltar and remained there between two and three years, the men being occasionally changed as they acquired a knowledge of drill. I wish to know whether your Majesty selected these men from a superior, educated class who had reputation of being orderly and intelligent, or whether they were chosen after inquiry into their intelligence, past character, and behaviour.'

"The Sultan replied, 'No, the men were selected at random from various tribes so that there might be no ground for jealousy.'

"'Well,' I said, 'two hundred Moors remained for nearly three years at Gibraltar. They had good

clothing given them, and a shilling a day was allowed each man by your Majesty. The British Government gave them tents to live in. During the time they were stationed in her Majesty's garrison there were only two cases in the police-courts against them for dissolute conduct. Colonel Cameron, under whose superintendence they were placed, said they learned their drill as quickly and as well as any Englishman, they were sober, steady, and attentive to their duties. This tends to show that your Majesty's subjects, living under a just and humane government, having, as they had, proper provision made for their livelihood, are not a lawless or even disorderly people, and that they are capable of being transformed, under a good government, into the grand warriors which their ancestors were in Spain.'

"The Sultan smiled and said, 'True, your arguments are convincing. Point out the remedy, select the men from amongst my viziers, or any other officers of the Court on whom you think I could depend, to introduce a new form of administration. I believe,' he continued, 'that if I were to tell my viziers that for the future I should allot them and other officers of the Court salaries, and put a stop to bribery and peculation, they would be the first to rebel against my authority, and to oppose any change in the administration.'

"I replied, 'I know not the vizier or other person in authority whom I could suggest should be employed to aid in carrying out a reform in the government. Your Majesty, like the late Sultan Mahmud of Turkey, and the great Khedive of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, will have yourself to take the sword in one hand and the balance of justice in the other. Make an example of any man who dares oppose your Majesty's will and determination to improve the state of your subjects. The latter, when they learn your Majesty's desire for their welfare, will rise in one body to support you in getting rid of the tyrants who are now grinding

them into dust, and squeezing out their life-blood. In the cause of humanity, and to save the lives of thousands of men, women, and children, now impoverished and starved by a cruel system of extortion, your Majesty will have to act with great severity and make a manifest example of some of the viziers and governors, striking terror into the hearts of other dignitaries of your Court who may be inclined to oppose your reforms.'

" 'Prepare for me,' said the Sultan, 'a secret memorandum on the reform of government you would propose, the salaries to be paid to the Vizier and chief officers of my Court, to governors and other officials in the provinces. I will take it into my consideration and commence gradually to introduce the reforms in the administration of the government of the provinces, and then I shall in due course introduce reform also at the Court, by the payment of the Vizier, and punish severely peculation or corrupt practices.

"I gave the Sultan a rough outline of the first steps that should be taken by the payment of governors, and other functionaries, to collect taxes and tithe to be paid direct into the Treasury, and not through the governors; recommending that receipts should be delivered to all persons who paid taxes, etc., and that these collectors should also be empowered to take all fines imposed by governors or sheikhs on criminals, and pay them into the Treasury, which would tend to check the rapacity and injustice of governors in imposing heavy and unjust fines which at the present time they appropriate to their own use. I reminded the Sultan that it was at my suggestion, when the convention of 1856 was concluded, that the salaries of the customs officers were greatly increased, and at the same time steps were taken to prevent the wholesale robbery of the receipts of custom, and that, as the Sultan had told me, that since my advice had been followed the revenues from the customs had

greatly increased. The Sultan acknowledged this to be true, and he further added that since its adoption the trade of Morocco with England and other countries had trebled in value."

This ended one of the most extraordinary and unique addresses perhaps ever made to a foreign ruler by an English minister. Although these reforms sketched out by Sir John D. Hay were never actually carried out, he always held these views regarding what ought to be done to improve the internal administration of the Moorish Empire, and there can be no question that they were sound views, which I cannot help thinking ought to have received greater attention than they did from the home authorities. Sir John Hay finally retired, after forty-two years' service, and thus ended a long and remarkable diplomatic career, which, if it did not improve matters in Morocco, helped to keep the crumbling empire intact; but so unsatisfied was Sir John with Moorish policy that he declined to take a personal farewell of the Sultan, but simply announced it by letter, which produced a very complimentary reply.

He was succeeded by the late Sir William Kirby Green, one of the ablest ministers that ever represented England in Morocco. It was a very great loss to that country and the diplomatic service when his career was cut short by death. He was able, during his term of office, to get the cable laid to Morocco, and to obtain an indemnity of £50,000 from the Sultan for the North-West African Company for damages done to their trade at Cape Juby by the Sultan's agents.

Sir Charles Euan Smith followed, but was very unfortunate in coming to some misunderstanding with the Sultan, which nearly led to an open rupture. With a view to help his mission, I gave addresses on Morocco at Liverpool and Glasgow. At that period the governor of Morocco City, Ben Daoud, came to London on a visit, and he sent for me on his arrival in

that city. I was able to show him some attention during his stay. At Manchester I showed him over Whitworth's Gunworks in that city and other places of interest, and procured for him a special permit from the Foreign Office to visit Woolwich Arsenal, which he very much appreciated. The report he made on his return to Morocco of the attention he had received during his stay in England made a good impression on the Moors.

While in London I introduced to him the late Mr. C. H. Allen, of the Anti-Slavery Society, which very much pleased the governor. In talking over Moorish affairs Ben Daood informed me how difficult it is to bring about changes in Morocco. He said that the late Sultan, Muley El Hassan, had sent several young men to Europe to study the state of society and government in those countries, with a view of bringing about changes in his own government. On their return they came before the Sultan and his advisers, who were men with long white beards. The young Moors, fresh from Europe, poured forth before them with ardour all they had seen in the Christian countries and how much better they were governed than the people of Morocco, and enlarged on the changes that could be made to meet modern ideas. The white-beards, said Ben Daood, told the young men to return to Europe, that they in Morocco did not want any of those new ideas which they seemed to value so much. Thus ended Muley El Hassan's attempt at reforming his country. The white-beards stood in the way.

Sir E. Satow represented England in Morocco for a short term. The principal work he accomplished was the disposal of the settlement I had founded at Cape Juby to the Sultan of Morocco for £50,000. For this work the Government conferred on him the honour of knighthood. When I paid him a visit afterwards I could hardly congratulate him on what he had done. He, however, informed me

that Cape Juby was a good card for the British Government to play.

Sir A. Nicolson followed. It must be said, to that gentleman's credit, that he did, during his term of office, all he could for the prisons and prisoners of Morocco, and there was a hope that some permanent reform would be made. The state of affairs is now the same as before in that unhappy country. Sir A. Nicolson represented England at the Conference of Algeciras. This was a most important and momentous step taken for the improvement of Morocco, which placed our relations with that country on an entirely new footing, first under the Anglo-French agreement, which was a mistake, and afterwards by the Algeciras Act. The British public will have to keep a watchful eye on the development of events in Morocco, unless they are prepared to see that important country closed to our merchants, and our position in Gibraltar seriously imperilled.

There is one very important question in connection with European representatives in Morocco which, in justice to the reputation of foreign nations, and on account of the hardships which its continuance inflicts on the Moors, should be completely changed. It has always been customary, when a foreign minister pays a visit to the Court of the Sultan of Morocco, that the governors of provinces through which they may pass are required to provide food free of charge to the minister and his followers, also their animals. As a rule, each of these missions is composed of a goodly number of people, and it becomes a serious matter for the poor Moors to provide for all their requirements. Not only that, but these journeys are made an excuse for terrible exactions on the part of corrupt and grasping governors in order to fill their own pockets. If any one refuses to meet the demands made he is cast into prison and his property plundered. It is understood that each government allows its representative a

certain sum of money to meet all the charges of journeys to Court, but some of the ministers have been accused of keeping the whole of the sum for themselves instead of paying the poor people who supply their wants.

The natives look forward to these embassies as a great calamity to the country; indeed, the charge weighs heavily on them for a long time after.

Mr. Gurney and myself brought this question years ago before the British Foreign Office, and I am glad to say that steps have been taken to put an end to this old custom. I received the following letter from Sir E. Grey on the subject.

“*To DONALD MACKENZIE*

“FOREIGN OFFICE,
“*Sept. 24, 1910.*

“SIR,

“I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th inst., inquiring whether the custom is still followed by his Majesty’s representative in Morocco, when travelling on a mission to the Sultan, of exacting hospitality from the natives of the district through which he passes. In reply, I am to call your attention to Article 62 of the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906. This Article was inserted by the Powers with a view to the cessation of this practice by diplomatic missions. The gifts of provisions, etc., formerly exacted from the tribes are referred to in the Article as ‘Mona.’ I am, sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,

“(Signed) F. A. CAMPBELL.”

Many travellers have taken a mean advantage of the custom of giving them a general complimentary letter to the governors of the part of the country through which they propose to pass, and they have demanded, on account of these documents, all the

provisions for themselves and followers free. In some cases this has been resented by the natives, with the result that serious quarrels have been occasioned. Mr. Henry Gurney and myself went from Tangier over-land to Morocco City, without any fire-arms, paying for everything as we went. We had no dispute or any quarrel on the way, and were never once insulted by the natives, who, I am glad to say in their favour, charged very little for their produce, and were quite contented with what was given them. It seems to me that the custom of giving letters of introduction to travellers to the governors should be abolished. Let every one pay his own expenses and carefully see that the natives are paid for what they sell. This plan would make travelling more safe and create a better feeling in the native mind towards strangers.

I may here remark that Sir John H. D. Hay was in favour of the foreign ministers residing at the Court, instead of at a distance, as had been the practice. He thus writes regarding it in his journal: "My belief is that these people, or rather their government, will never go ahead until the lever acts at headquarters continuously, by the presence and pressure of the foreign representatives. So long as we preach and pray at a distance, nothing will be done."

This was a very sound opinion. I never could see why the foreign ministers should act at such a distance, through the Moorish Foreign Minister, who acts as a sort of buffer, and in this way thwarts any reform that may be proposed. The difficulty that stands in the way of this excellent proposal being adopted is the continual moving of the Shereefian Court from one place to another. It would be somewhat inconvenient for ministers to move with the Court. Another difficulty, which could be easily overcome, is the want of roads into the interior. I cannot help thinking that ministers should make Fez their headquarters instead of Tangier, where



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they could be more in touch with the Sultan, who usually resides at Fez, than at present. A good road could be eventually made to connect Tangier with Fez. This, if accomplished, would be a vast improvement, which would undoubtedly lead to beneficial changes in the internal administration of Morocco. It is impossible, at such a distance from the seat of government, to impress the Sultan or his ministers with any ideas of progress and good government.

CHAPTER X

THE COMMERCE OF MOROCCO ; BANKING FACILITIES ; CARRYING TRADE ; CONSULAR SERVICE

It cannot be expected that commerce will flourish in leaps and bounds in a country so backward as the Khalifate of the West. No effort is made to increase the trade in any way. Cart-roads, which are so essential for the development of any country, do not exist. The exports and imports almost stood stationary for many years, though recent years have shown some improvement. The following are the most striking figures that I can give. The exports and imports of all the Morocco ports stood in 1885 at £2,612,612 ; for 1908 they amounted to £4,789,439, showing an increase of £2,176,827 in twenty-three years. This is not a very encouraging state of things in a country with unbounded possibilities.

The figures given below were supplied to me by the courtesy of Mr. H. E. White, our Consul-General in Morocco :

		Imports.	Exports.	Total Trade.
Tangier	..	421,707	307,048	728,755
Tetuan	..	59,930	10,029	69,959
Laraiche	..	536,794	145,619	682,413
Rabat	..	270,365	64,426	334,791
Casablanca	..	574,706	347,387	922,093
Mazagan	..	357,613	338,736	696,349
Saffi	..	269,634	404,282	673,915
Mogador	..	325,469	355,694	681,163
Total	..	<u>£2,816,218</u>	<u>£1,973,221</u>	<u>£4,789,439</u>

It has been remarked that the mode of transport in Morocco is of the most primitive description : mules,

camels, and even women are used for carrying goods to and from the interior. It will therefore be readily understood that the transport of goods is a very troublesome and expensive operation. The present system of interior transport costs about one shilling a mile per ton. The interior trade of the country can never develop under such a system as this. Railways and other improvements for facilitating commercial intercourse are unknown. The trade of the interior is conducted by native merchants, or agents of European traders, who attend the markets all over the country, exchanging European or native manufactures for raw material, such as wool, oil, skins, grain, wax, etc. Sometimes it happens that the farmer himself brings his produce to market, but whether the produce is bought in the interior or in the town all transactions are done in cash. The farmer cannot give credit, as he requires money for taxes and present needs.

Morocco held commercial intercourse with foreign countries for many centuries, and at one time possessed a considerable fleet of vessels, but it does not appear that they were used for carrying merchandise from one country to another. It is, however, certain that the Moorish craft conducted a large piratical trade. They were at one time the terror of the sea, and were bold enough to land at various places, plundering the inhabitants, and carrying them away into slavery, appropriating to their own use and benefit all the treasure they could find. These bold corsairs are said to have landed in France and carried many people into slavery. Happily this condition of things has long since ceased to exist. The Moors no longer possess vessels of war. The descendants of those bold rovers have taken to the more peaceful occupations of praying in mosques and making mats.

If the duties on native products were to be lowered to a reasonable extent, with full liberty to export all

the products of the country, and an improvement were made in the means of transport, under a fairly good government the commerce of Morocco would increase to an enormous extent. Instead of it being only £4,789,439 as at present, it would be more like £50,000,000. The country would become one of the best markets for British manufactures.

We in this country can hardly understand that the Sultan should be so blind to his own interest as to place difficulties in the way of commerce, the main source from which he derives his revenue. I regret to say that the Moorish Government places every kind of obstacle in the way of Christian enterprise. The last treaty of commerce which was made in 1856 conceded the right to foreigners to acquire land in Morocco, but the consent of the governor or *cadi* must first be obtained before property can be conveyed. This consent is always refused, except in Tangier, where the foreign ministers bring pressure to bear on Moorish authorities. In all other towns the Christians are only allowed to hire houses from the Sultan, and these they cannot repair without orders from the authorities. If any native workman were to attempt to do any repairs for the Christians he would be cast into prison; neither are materials allowed to be supplied. Many persons have to import labour and material from Gibraltar.

The opposition shown to Christians by the Moorish Government arises partly from religious fanaticism, but more especially from the fact that almost every privilege hitherto granted by the Sultan to foreigners has always been abused to such an extent that the Christians have become indirectly the greatest oppressors of the Moors who still remain under the rule of his Shereefian Majesty.

The Moorish revenue is principally derived from the duties charged on the exports and imports of merchandise, lands, cattle, and products. It has been said that hardly one-third* of the sums* collected

enters the coffers of the Sultan, the rest finding its way into the pockets of unpaid officials. It is impossible to state what the revenue of the Moorish Government really is. No Budget of receipts and expenditure is ever published; it would be rather a curious document.

Ten per cent. is charged on the imports, but the duty charged on the exports is often greater than the value of the goods. The export of minerals, although of the richest description, is prohibited. It is also forbidden to export cattle without special licence.

The absence of banking facilities is a great drawback to the commercial progress of Morocco. No private merchant can offer the same advantages as a bank can; hence the necessity for an independent institution which should assist as far as possible all those who are engaged in the commerce of the country. Large sums of specie are required at the beginning of each season to enable the merchant to purchase produce, which he has often to ship to Europe at a time when the market is depressed in order to raise money. He is then obliged to sell at a low price, and obtain advances at a high rate of interest, which naturally reduces his profit to very little, and sometimes may end in a loss.

A bank would enable the merchant to avoid all these inconveniences. I was so much impressed with this question in 1886, when I made my report on the "Condition of the Empire of Morocco," addressed to the Foreign Office, that I felt that the matter should be taken up. The natives wished me to try and carry it through. They offered in a few days to take over £8,000 of the share capital. I placed the matter before some of my friends in London and afterwards explained its objects to the late Lord Salisbury. The intention was to make it an international bank on similar lines to the "Ottoman Bank." I went to the Court of Morocco in 1887, with the full support of Lord Salisbury; but the

jealousy of the Powers was a great drawback. The same year difficulties arose at Cape Juby, and I was obliged to go out there and put matters right, so was reluctantly obliged to abandon my bank project, which if it had been accomplished would have conferred a great benefit on Morocco. I was, however, glad to see the question brought up at the Algeciras Conference and adopted by the Powers. If the bank is worked without any political bias it will, without doubt, help to promote the commerce of Morocco, and assist very materially in the development of its vast resources.

The carrying trade, as far as England was concerned, had been for many years in the hands of Messrs. Forwood Brothers, but it is now carried on by two companies, the Royal Mail Company and Messrs. James Power & Co., who have established the Power Steamship Company. These ships call at all the Morocco ports for produce and the discharge of cargo. Other steamers call at Tangier with passengers. The French have for many years run a line of steamers from Marseilles. They also took passengers, and made the round trip to the Canary Islands. Navigating along the Morocco coast is somewhat dangerous on account of the want of lighthouses, but this important question, and the improvement of the harbours along the coast, are to receive the attention of the authorities.

I have recently received the following somewhat encouraging report on this question from Mr. H. E. White, his Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Tangier, Morocco :

“With regard to roads, none properly so called have yet been made, but some are about to be made in the neighbourhood of the ports, for which tenders have been or will be invited by the Commission of Public Works constituted under the Algeciras Act. A mole has been built at Tangier, harbour works are in the course of construction at Casablanca, an iron

pier at Saffier, and works are to be undertaken at the other ports little by little, lighthouses are to be erected, and other lights, buoys, etc., are to be placed where required. So we hope to see great improvements from the point of view of navigation in course of time. As funds become available it is to be expected that roads will be extended into the interior, and bridges built over some of the rivers.

“Greater order is gradually being introduced into the custom-houses, and the lighthouse service will also be improved. All of the above will, of course, be for the benefit of trade in general.”

One of the questions which is of the greatest interest to our merchants going to Morocco to promote business there is the consular service. The late Sir John H. D. Hay was far from satisfied with the consular service in that country. He was in favour of competent paid consular agents who would be above suspicion. He considered that unpaid consular agents, who were traders, might use their authority for their own selfish ends, and I think his views on this subject were correct. The representatives of other countries give every possible assistance to business men from their respective countries, while our merchants are practically left to shift for themselves, without any assistance whatever. More attention in many cases is paid to those visiting the country for sport or pleasure than to those who are concerned in promoting our trade. Our foreign commerce can never compete with other countries under such conditions as this.

As an illustration of this, I may point out that some time ago I asked Mr. H. E. White, our Consul-General in Tangier, for the latest figures of the export and import trade of Morocco. He replied that he was engaged on the 1908 returns, which would be ready soon. I wrote again, two months after, and he very courteously supplied the figures I have given in another place, stating that he had sent the returns to

the Foreign Office some time before and they would be published by this time. I wrote for a copy through Messrs. Wyman & Sons. They informed me that they were not yet published. The returns themselves were then nearly two years old, which rendered them of little value to commercial men, and when they are received at the Foreign Office they seem to have been left unpublished for an indefinite period. This is a question that ought to be inquired into. I felt so dissatisfied with the state of affairs that I wrote to Sir E. Grey for an explanation of the delay, and received the following reply :

“*To MR. D. MACKENZIE*

“FOREIGN OFFICE,
“*July 5, 1910.*

“SIR,

“I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, inquiring as to the latest official returns of the trade of Morocco. I am to inform you that the publication of the Trade Report for 1908 has been delayed owing to the absence of regular official statistics, and to the number of inaccuracies in the statistics supplied from various sources to His Majesty's Consul at Tangier, and the necessity of referring them to the various British Consular officials in Morocco for correction. This Report will, however, be published shortly. Subsequent Reports will be compiled from statistics supplied by the Comité des Douanes, of which His Majesty's Consul is a member, and will therefore be published at an earlier date than has hitherto been possible.

“I am, sir, etc.,

“*(Signed)* W. LANGLEY.”

Many of the merchants of Morocco complained to me that England had no commercial Attaché in Morocco. I had a talk on this subject with Sir



BAB MANSOUR.



JEW'S HOUSE.

Ernest Satow while he was minister in Tangier. He remarked that a commercial Attaché would be of great importance, and suggested that I should have an interview with the officials at the Foreign Office. On my arrival in England I called on Sir Thomas Sanderson, now Lord Sanderson, and laid the matter before him. While he did not deny that such an appointment might be advantageous, he pointed out that there were no funds available for the purpose. I remarked that surely they could obtain about £700 a year for such an important object. Lord Sanderson suggested that I should speak to Sir William Harcourt, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the subject; but I feared that my influence would not induce him to unloose the strings of the public purse for the benefit of British trade in Morocco.

Sir John Hay stated to me that the British Government seemed to be always indifferent to the commercial development of Morocco. During his official career he had sent many proposals, which he asserted were pigeon-holed at the Foreign Office. Since the interview I had with Lord Sanderson on the subject of commercial Attachés and articles of mine dealing with the subject which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, in 1902, and afterwards in the *Manchester Guardian*, the Foreign Office seemed to wake up a little to the importance of commercial Attachés, and an attempt has been made to reform the consular service. I am quite convinced that our foreign trade cannot prosper until a radical change is brought about in this great branch of the public service, and the sooner the British public take the matter seriously in hand the better will be our position in the commercial world. In recent years some slight improvement has been made in the consular service in Morocco, but still, out of fifteen British consular officers in that country, nine are unpaid.

A merchant will choose for his office the most competent man he can find. The high connections

and social position of the applicant will not weigh with him in making his choice. Yet we, as a nation, pitchfork in many cases a most unsuitable set of men into the consular service, who pride themselves on the idea that they have nothing to do with anything so common as trade ; who, indeed, would promote anything but the commerce of their own country. This state of things should not be allowed to continue, especially as foreign nations are now our keen competitors in every market in the world. I do not mean by these remarks to raise any doubt as to the honesty of the British Consuls in Morocco. They are, I believe, gentlemen of high and honourable character. Mr. Gurney states that he has always received the greatest attention and assistance from them in his philanthropic work among the Moors, and entertains a high opinion of them.

My remarks are really made against the system which I think has been borne out by the information derived by the small government committee that was appointed to inquire into it in 1903, and that was by no means an exhaustive inquiry. I only wish to emphasise in these pages the important fact for this country—that its foreign commerce cannot prosper under modern competition unless we are represented by competent men to look after our interests and assist our traders in every possible way. Matters may have improved in Morocco of late years, and our representatives there may be now extending all the help they can to our traders in that country.

CHAPTER XI

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY

SLAVERY has always existed in Mohammedan countries, although the Koran does not favour it. Measures have, however, been taken by England and other Powers to abolish it in the East, and these praiseworthy efforts have met with considerable success. Indeed the success of these efforts has been remarkable considering the difficulties that stood in the way. Slavery has disappeared in Egypt, and homes for freed slaves have been established there by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in conjunction with Lord Cromer and supported by the Egyptian Government. The Turkish Government founded homes for freed slaves at Constantinople, Jeddah, and other places, thus showing that a spirit of freedom has entered into the Turkish administration, which is an evidence that our labours have not been in vain.

I am sorry to say that no effectual steps have been made by the Christian Powers of Europe to obtain its abolition or put a check on it in Morocco. Even Mohammedans cannot defend this horrible institution except on the plea that slavery has always existed under their rule. The great hunting-ground, as we know, for supplying markets with human creatures is the interior of Africa. The cruelties and terrible miseries that have always followed in the wake of slave-trading are beyond the power of a human pen adequately to describe : how fathers and mothers are ruthlessly separated, children disposed among various

purchasers without a single hope of ever seeing each other again on this side of eternity. How they are fastened together in gangs of both sexes, perfectly naked, and then driven along, like droves of cattle, to various outlets where they can make their way to the slave-markets. The mortality in their capture and on the march is something too terrible to contemplate. It is surprising to me that the voice of civilised Europe does not unite and make itself felt in every country where slavery exists, and not cease until this terrible evil is blotted out for ever from God's earth.

It is painful to record the fact that missionaries and Europeans who are settled in slave-holding countries, with very few exceptions, seem to show indifference to the whole subject, when the cause of suffering humanity should be their first care.

Very many years ago the Sultan of Morocco held Europeans in bondage until they were ransomed by their respective countries. Happily this state of things no longer exists. The first attempt made by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to induce the Moorish Sultan to abolish slavery within his dominions was in 1844, when the late Mr. James Richardson was entrusted with the presentation of an address from the Society to the Sultan. The address, unfortunately, did not reach any farther than Mogador. The governor of that city would not allow it to be forwarded. "If he did so," he said, "he would himself have his tongue cut from the roof of his mouth."

In 1882 the society made representations to the British Government regarding the slave markets which were held privately in port towns. The efforts of the society in this direction were successful. The public sale of slaves in port towns was prohibited by the orders of the Sultan. This was followed up by a visit made in 1886 by the late Mr. C. H. Allen and Mr. Crawford. An Anti-Slavery meeting was held



THE LATE SIR WILLIAM KIRBY GREEN,
K.C.M.G., H B M 'S MINISTER IN MOROCCO.

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in Tangier, which was the first ever held on such a subject within Moorish dominions.

Their journey did a considerable amount of service by drawing public attention to the glaring abuses which were carried on unchecked in Morocco. In 1887 I made arrangements to visit the Court of Morocco on a matter of public importance which I have described in another chapter. The Anti-Slavery Society entrusted me on that occasion with an address to the Sultan of Morocco, which I very willingly and with much pleasure undertook to present to his Shereefian Majesty. At an interview I had with the late Sir William Kirby Green he promised his support as far as he could. He handed me a letter of introduction to the Sultan's Grand Vizier of which the following is a translation.

“ *To THE SERVANT OF THE SULTAN—LONG MAY HE LIVE!—THE VIZIER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IFKI, THE LEARNED, HIGH, AND EXCELLENT MOHAMMED UMFUDLE GHARNIT*

“TANGIER,
“*March 24, 1887.*

“I salute you and hope you are quite well. I ask how you are. I like to know that you are well. The bearer of this letter is a well-known man, and friend of Morocco, and of its inhabitants, and has come from England with a letter from the ministers of England and others from the highest people in England and they recommend him strongly, and he is going to the Court to lay before the Sultan some business for himself which it seems to me will be a benefit for his Government, and the commerce of the country; and I assure you that the bearer of the letter is Donald Mackenzie, and I ask the Government to receive him with honour, and for his recommendation I give him this letter willingly as an introduction, with friendly salutation.

"The Minister Plenipotentiary of the Queen of Great Britain, Empress of India, at Morocco.

"*(Signed)* WM. KIRBY GREEN."

This letter, without doubt, helped me in the matter of the presentation of the Anti-Slavery Society's address. The following is the text of the address :

" *To* HIS SHEREEFIAN MAJESTY, MULEY EL HASSAN, SULTAN OF MOROCCO

"55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON,
"March 10, 1887.

"May it please your Highness,

"We are all the servants of God, the Father of Mussulmans, Christians, Jews, and of all the nations of the earth, of whatever colour or race, and therefore the great Anti-Slavery Society of London, whose powerful Protector and Patron is the Prince of Wales (eldest son of the Queen of the British Empire, and ruler over many millions of Mussulmans), now desires to address your Highness on behalf of all those slaves, of whatever nationality, who are in bondage in the Shereefian dominions.

"Several Mussulman nations have recognised that the slave-trade, as it has long been carried on in Africa, is contrary to the commands of the Prophet contained in the Koran.

"It is true that the existence of slavery is recognised by Mahomet, but only of captives taken in war, and the Prophet earnestly enjoins good treatment of all slaves, and recommends that they should be set free as an act specially pleasing in the sight of Heaven. The Koran, moreover, does not sanction the separation of husband and wife, and of children from their parents, as is now too often done in the slave-markets of Morocco, whilst the cruel mutilation of boys for harem purposes, so extensively carried on in the dominions of your Highness, is a

crime against God and man, which the Koran does not justify.

“The Anti-Slavery Society therefore embraces the opportunity presented by the journey of their friend, Mr. Donald Mackenzie, to the Shereefian Court, to ask him to present to your Highness its petition on behalf of the slaves in that great empire, and its earnest prayer that your Highness will prevent your subjects from carrying on the slave-trade, and will forbid the separation of families in all the slave-markets of Morocco, as well as the cruel and disgraceful mutilation of children which now exists. In the present day, when the light of civilisation is spreading over all the earth, the dark deeds, so long wrought in secret upon the helpless natives of Africa, are made known to the whole world with a swiftness and certainty almost inconceivable, and if Morocco is to take that position amongst the nations of the earth to which her former history and her vast resources entitle her, her rulers must learn to govern the people committed to their charge with justice and moderation.

“Deeds of cruelty, whether wrought upon the persons of slaves or upon poor and defenceless subjects of any Sovereign, react in a tenfold manner upon the Government which permits such injustice, and take away from the nation that strength which alone can enable her to prosper, or even to exist.

“The rulers of the Mohammedan countries of Turkey, Egypt, Tunis, and Zanzibar have made treaties with Great Britain, pledging themselves to stop the slave-trade in their dominions, both on shore and at sea, and the Anti-Slavery Society trusts that the day is not far distant when Morocco also shall enter into a similar alliance for the abolition of the nefarious traffic in human beings.

“That this petition may receive the favourable consideration of your Highness, and, under the guidance of the All-merciful God, you may long be

enabled to rule with justice and moderation over a grateful and prosperous people, is the prayer of the Anti-Slavery Society.

“(Signed) EDMUND STURGE, *Chairman.*
CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*”

On the 27th of April I had an interview with the Grand Vizier and handed him the Society's address, with a request that he would present it to his Shereefian Majesty, his master. He read it, and promised to hand it to the Sultan. He remarked that his Majesty had, in deference to the wishes of the British Government, issued orders that there should be in future a separate place for the sale of slaves, who should not be sold in the public market, as before. He remarked that the holding of slaves was in accordance with the Mohammedan religion, and if they were set free they would die of hunger.

I replied that no such calamity had befallen after the abolition of slavery in Turkey and other countries, and I hoped Morocco would follow the example of other enlightened nations and blot out the iniquity of slavery from the empire. I further remarked that neither Christian nor Mohammedan would like to be held in bondage against their will.

This the Vizier could not dispute. Our interview was very cordial throughout, and I felt glad that the address would at last be presented to the Sultan. This took place a few days after, and the address received the support of the late Sir William Kirby Green.

The slave-market is held in Morocco City every Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. Girls and boys are generally in great demand. The price of girls is about £16 to £20. The supply for the Morocco markets comes from the Soudan across the Sahara Desert. A great number of the captives die on the march. Some pretty girls are, I found, brought from Senegal in French vessels as passengers and disposed



ANCIENT MOSQUE AND RUINS.

of privately to wealthy Moors. Great cruelty is practised on the slaves, and there are no means of punishing the offenders. Here is one instance. A slave eight years old, who had offended her master, had, as a punishment, all her teeth taken out. Many of the boys are made into eunuchs, a process which entails a great mortality. Others are used for most revolting purposes by the Moors.

British ministers have from time to time made representations to the Sultan against slavery, at the request of the home Government. The late Sir William Kirby Green took a keen interest in the question, and, if his life had been spared, he would have done much towards abolishing it. The late Sir John Drummond Hay, no doubt on account of his long residence in Morocco—some forty-two years—was so accustomed to slavery that he was not very strongly opposed to it. He had, however, taken some steps, at the request of the British Government, to close the markets for slaves held in port towns, and to order the liberation of slaves held by any one having British protection. This praiseworthy measure was urged on the Foreign Office by the Anti-Slavery Society. The late Mr. C. H. Allen always kept a vigilant eye on Morocco. His visit to that country with Mr. Henry Gurney has helped to keep the question alive. There is one improvement which I should urge on our own Government to adopt at once: that is to ask the Sultan to close the slave-markets in every town in Morocco where a British consular agent is resident.

In recent years the matter has in a measure been left in abeyance. Mr. Gurney has, however, kept the society in touch with the affairs in Morocco, but much has yet to be done to abolish slavery from Moorish dominions. The Anti-Slavery Society ought not to be satisfied until the Sultan has consented to finally decree its total extinction.

CHAPTER XII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

THE laws of Morocco are based on the Koran. A Moorish Court is composed of a judge and two notaries, who sit to hear cases, which are supposed to be settled according to documentary evidence. Governors exercise jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases, but as soon as either of the contending parties claim the spiritual law the governors are bound to refer the case to the judge, or kadi, who deals with it in accordance with the Koran, and sends his sentence to the governor for execution. One can appeal against the judge's sentence, but the man with the longest purse gains the verdict. When a native brings an action against a British subject it is settled before a Moorish judge, but should the plaintiff be a British subject it is brought before the British Consular Courts.

Punishment for crime varies according to the locality, the power of the authority, and more particularly the culprit's means and the position of the individual against whom the crime is perpetrated. Murder and other crimes are punished by capital punishment, but a death-sentence is seldom carried into effect, for the matter is generally settled by a fine, and a sum of money paid to the family of the victim. If a master kills his own slave it is no crime, but if the victim is another man's slave he pays the market value. If a Jew be the victim, an indemnity alone is paid; if protected the sum is considerably larger. Rebellion is punished by cutting off one leg and one arm, or by death; highway robbery and theft of Government stores,

by cutting off the right hand; petty offences, such as larceny, cheating, weights and measures, and adultery by flogging and imprisonment. Assaults and wounding are also punished in a similar manner. The avenger of blood is quite an institution in this country. He goes about to avenge the blood of a relation. There are houses of refuge to be found all over the country, where a criminal or debtor may fly for protection, and in this manner the murderer can evade the avenger, and the debtor his creditor for a time.

I have given this as being the basis on which the law of Morocco is founded, but the administration of justice is the most corrupt that can be found in any part of the world. No such thing as our Habeas Corpus Act is known in any part of Morocco. A Moor may be seized at the will of a governor or Sultan, and may remain all his life in prison without trial or indeed knowing the nature of his offence. The guilty are not usually sent to prison; it is the innocent person who is pounced upon and made to pay debts he never contracted. It is enough evidence if he may happen to have resided in the same village or country with the accused. They not only have to pay debts of others, but suffer for crimes which they never committed.

Moorish governors do not trouble themselves in going after criminals or debtors. They hold the innocent responsible for the guilty, and these are sent to prison for imaginary crimes in order to satisfy the avarice and cupidity of a governor. The Moors have to work all their lives like slaves to satisfy the Sultan, his officials, and usurers, who are a band of parasites infesting all parts of Morocco. The only exception to this general rule are the tribes who are powerful enough to defy the Sultan and his ministers, against whom the Moorish Government is continually at war. It may be said that quite two-thirds of the empire is more or less independent of the Sultan, and

can successfully set at defiance the Moorish tax-gatherer. The Sultan and his ministers are continually engaged in trying, by bribes and every corrupt method, to set one tribe against another, and woe to those who cannot stand against the Sultan's forces. When overcome they are butchered without mercy, and baskets of heads are sent, after being salted, to various cities so that they may be stuck up over the gates, as warnings to others. The women and children are handed over to the soldiers, who sell them wherever they can find a buyer.

Neither rich nor poor have any security except those who enjoy consular protection. Others make the pilgrimage to Mecca, as a means of security against Moorish rapacity; but even the odour of Mecca does not avail them much in these days, when they return. Those of us who have enjoyed the liberty and protection of our own land can hardly realise the condition of the Moors.

It is a crime in the eyes of the Moorish Government that people should be wealthy; it only exposes them to the dangers of a prison, and utter ruin. There is no real encouragement given to industry or enterprise. It is this system of oppression which has stunted the growth of wealth and property in Morocco, and has left its vast natural resources practically untouched. Of course this state of things cannot, in the nature of events, remain unchanged.

The world is marching on, with its progressive ideas, and even the ancient and proud Khalifate of the West cannot shelter itself in its exclusiveness. Civilising influences must eventually permeate the whole mass of Moorish society, awake it up from its long sleep, and bring it into line with Western ideas. We who enjoy the blessings of civilisation have a duty to perform to those who sit in darkness. We have to use every means in our power to bring to their minds the blessing of liberty, toleration, and just government, and the great privileges we enjoy under their shadow.



GATEWAY, RABAT.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND MOORISH PRISONS

It is difficult for any one living in England, or in any civilised country, to conceive what prison life in Morocco really is, and the terrible tortures which those hapless creatures who are doomed to languish in them have to suffer.

A large number of the prisoners are immured for political offences. These are sometimes confined in dungeons underground, with hardly any light, air, or water, and even without food except that which is provided by the charitable or relations of the prisoners. Others are there for debts which they never contracted and for crimes they never committed. The governors and other officers of the prisons receive no salary, so they exist by squeezing all they can out of the prisoners and their relations. Some of them occupy their time in making baskets, and other trifles. Part of the proceeds of these articles goes into the pockets of the governors of the prisons. Various kinds of horrible tortures are carried out on many of the prisoners, especially if they are supposed to be possessed of wealth, with a view of compelling them to reveal where it may be found.

They are chained in such a manner that they can neither sit nor stand. One instrument of torture is made of wood, and resembles the hooded garment of a Franciscan friar. It is placed upright and the victim is squeezed into it in a standing position. Iron spikes project in various parts preventing the inmate from reclining or resting any

part of his body without great suffering. There he is left to exist on bread and water for days and nights, until he divulges where his wealth may be found. It is said that this mode of torture is only resorted to in extreme cases. Another mode of torture is the gashing of the hands. The cuts are salted, a raw hide is afterwards tightly bound over them, which shrinks after a time, and causes the hand to rot away.

Political offenders are usually consigned to these dungeons, there to end their miserable lives, without any help from the outside world, hunger ever gnawing at their vitals. When prisoners are removed from one prison to another they are chained together in gangs, fastened by the neck to one long chain, the last holding an enormous padlock. In this same manner they are taken out for an airing for sanitary reasons in country prisons.

In Morocco City alone there are a large number of prisoners. Of course the number fluctuates from time to time. None of the prisoners are ever tried for their supposed offences, nor is a limit put on the period of their incarceration. The scandals of Moorish prisons and their wretched inmates have attracted the attention of several European visitors and travellers. The Anti-Slavery Society took the matter up over twenty years ago, and made representations from time to time to the British Government.

Miss Charlotte Hanbury went out to visit the prisons for the first time in 1889. She wrote on that occasion : " At last came the opportunity for first visiting a Moorish prison, never to be forgotten in its terrible impression. Looking through an oval hole of six inches wide, we saw many pale, famished prisoners inside, who eagerly came to us, their heavy ankle-chains clanking as they slowly moved about in the hot, foul air which it was scarcely possible to breathe. They were hungry, and begged for food, no food or water being supplied to them by the Government,

and the whole dirty place was bare of everything except its crowd of miserable captives."

This is a vivid picture of what may be found in all Moorish prisons.

About this period the English press did much to enlighten the public on this subject, and the Government representatives had used their good offices on behalf of some cases that were brought under their notice. While good was done in isolated cases, a large majority of prisons were left untouched, and an improvement could hardly be expected unless a complete change of administration could be brought about.

The Howard Association took up the question of the prisons with great energy, through its able secretary, the late Mr. Tallack. He distributed a large amount of literature on the subject, which attracted the notice of some of the native officials. Miss Hanbury and Mr. Gurney gave valuable information to the society from time to time, which kept it well posted as to what was being done.

When the Sultan Muley Hassan died it was thought his successor, Abdul Aziz, would carry out great reforms. He was young, and seemed favourably disposed towards Europeans, but he lacked his father's strength of character. He unfortunately became a tool in the hands of designing Europeans, whose only care and object was to fill their own pockets, and in doing so pandered to the lowest passions of the oriental character. No wonder that the Sultan brought himself to the verge of bankruptcy, and was an object of contempt to his own subjects, over whom he lost all control. If he had been surrounded by good counsellors, who would have guided him to do right, much good might have been done, for the young Sultan was really anxious to bring about reforms in his country. The reform of prisons was one of his chief aims.

Mr. Gurney's interview with him was very satis-

factory. He even accepted a copy of the life of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, the lady who so nobly devoted her best talents to the improvement of the condition of the prisons of her native land. His Majesty very graciously received, at the same time, a memorial from the Howard Association. These were presented to the Sultan in 1903, and he was said to have been genuinely gratified at receiving them.

The following is a copy of the address :

" Praise be to God alone.

*" To HIS SHEREEFIAN MAJESTY, MULEY
ABDUL AZIZ*

" May it please your Majesty,—In accordance with the permission given by your Majesty to our Chairman, Mr. Henry Gurney, we beg most humbly and respectfully to present to your Majesty a copy of the life of Elizabeth Fry, a lady who, in the early years of the nineteenth century, devoted a great part of her time to the amelioration of the condition of the prisoners in England and other European countries, which were in a deplorable state. The most prominent persons in England, who laboured to improve the condition of prisoners, were John Howard and Elizabeth Fry. They appealed on their behalf to the crowned heads and governments of Europe, and they finally succeeded, by the help of God, in carrying out a great reformation in the prison system of England and other countries. Such was the great interest that was taken in what had been accomplished that the Howard Association was formed many years ago to continue the good work and to watch over the interest of the prisoners all over the world. The Association does not concern itself with political questions ; it simply interests itself in questions of humanity.

" We beg to point out to your Majesty that in those countries which have improved their prisons



TAK-EL-THELATA, BETWEEN THE FONDUK AND TANGIER.



TETUAN JEWESSES GOING OUT ON FRIDAY TO THE COUNTRY
TO PRAY.

and the condition of prisoners, crime has correspondingly decreased. From these experiences we feel assured that the improvement of prisons in your Majesty's dominions would tend to the same beneficial result. We take the present opportunity of thanking your Majesty for your intentions of improving the prisons of your empire. We feel sure that God will bless the effort you are now making on behalf of the prisoners, and we trust that you will continue to watch over them with paternal care. We assure your Majesty that we take a deep interest in the welfare of your people. We pray that God will bless you and guide you to rule over your people with justice and mercy.

"On behalf of the Howard Association,

"(Signed) A. F. BUXTON, *Treasurer.*

H. GURNEY, *Chairman.*

E. GRUBB, *Secretary.*"

But the improvement that was promised, and expected to continue, did not last long. As I before remarked, Abdul Aziz, who was weak, was led away from the right way and his throne became very insecure, until he had finally to abandon the struggle, and Muley Hafid succeeded him as ruler of Morocco.

The prisons were allowed to get into a worse state than they were before. In confirmation of this, Mr. Gurney received recently reports from the interior of Morocco which showed that matters were in a very unsatisfactory state. A correspondent writing from Morocco City says:

"The prisons are as bad as they ever were. The new Sultan has proved very disappointing in the way of reforms. He has done nothing. In the south Glowí brothers rule supreme, and their only object seems to be to make money as fast as they can while in power. Our governor is one of them, and he is engaged in squeezing money out

of the people, and spends a great deal of his time in feasting and with harlots. The consequence is that there have been a great many robberies and murders and a general lowering in authority. The prison, I am told, is very full. When a robbery takes place there are a great many innocent people arrested, and they are set free on paying. The guilty are seldom or never caught.

"In slavery there is no change. The market goes on as usual; the supply of negresses from the far south is almost cut off now, and their place is filled by white girls stolen in the Sus country, and where they can be picked up. The governor recently issued orders against all private sales in houses. All slaves must be sold in the open market, so as to prevent those who have been stolen being sold privately into slavery. Once a girl is sold, it is almost impossible to obtain her freedom. Such orders from the governor can be easily ignored by giving him a present, so that there is not much to be hoped from this measure. Our present administration is very corrupt in every detail. The judges and the notaries are as bad as the governors and his khalifas. Bribery rules the day."

There is some improvement reported from Casablanca. A correspondent of Mr. Gurney's writes :

"The prison is still the Makhzen prison, but is under the immediate control of the French Commissary of Police, which is a guarantee that matters are well managed.

"The administration is now very satisfactory. By order of the consular body all drink-shops must be closed by midnight. The municipal police and the French gendarmery assist in seeing that this order is carried out. There are no regulations for stopping the sale of drink to the natives, and it is said that the drink habit is much on the increase with them; they are said to drink cheap gin in their houses.

“Regarding slavery, there is none of course on the part of European subjects, and everything possible is done to discourage it amongst the natives. British steamers are not allowed to convey slaves from port to port. At the Morocco littoral slavery is no doubt rife amongst the Moorish notables, but as a rule the slaves are well treated, and well fed.”

While I was reading this and other correspondence which was kindly laid before me by Mr. Gurney, I felt so strongly on the question of the Moorish prisons and the wretched prisoners that I wrote the following letters to Sir E. Grey, Bart., M.P., his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs :

“*To* THE RIGHT HON. SIR E. GREY, BART., M.P.

“SIR,

“I beg to enclose a circular with regard to a book on Morocco, which I am preparing for publication. In looking over correspondence which has been placed before me from residents in various parts of Morocco, it is most distressing to see the terrible state of lawlessness which prevails in all parts of the country. The prisons seem to be in a worse state than they have ever been. Hunger, dirt, and every kind of terrible cruelties prevail in regard to those who are now languishing in filthy, dark dungeons, without any hope of redress from any quarter. It seems to me that this very unsatisfactory state of affairs is far from creditable to our civilisation, and ought by some means to be removed with as little delay as possible.

“The only remedy for the untold miseries which now exist all over Morocco, that seems feasible to my mind, is the establishment in that country of Mixed Courts for the administration of justice all over the Moorish Empire, for both natives and foreigners. This scheme, if adopted, would abolish the present system of protection which has inflicted

great injury on the natives and the Moorish Government. It protects the rich, and deprives the Sultan of a large amount of taxes which his Majesty ought in justice to have. My proposal, I believe, would also prevent the unjust and cruel squeezing of the unprotected natives by the tax-gatherers. I am aware that under existing circumstances it would be difficult to abolish protection altogether, unless Mixed Courts are set up which would guarantee equal rights and justice to natives and foreigners.

"Would you kindly inform me if you would recommend the establishment of Mixed Courts in Morocco? I cannot help thinking that, if his Majesty's Government proposed such a reform, other Governments would agree and unite in pressing its adoption on the Sultan, who would accept it without trouble. This reform, in my judgment, would confer the greatest benefit on the Moors, and remove a dark spot on our civilisation.

"I am, sir, etc.,

"DONALD MACKENZIE."

"*To* DONALD MACKENZIE

"FOREIGN OFFICE,

"March 9, 1910.

"SIR,

"With reference to your letter of the 3rd inst. recommending the institution of Mixed Courts in Morocco, I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to inform you that he is unable to adopt your suggestion, as his Majesty's Government are not in a position to reform the internal administration of Morocco outside the scope of British treaty rights.

"I am, sir, etc.,

"(Signed) W. LANGLEY."

"*To* THE RIGHT HON. SIR E. GREY, BART., M.P.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 9th inst. I fear that I did not make my views quite

clear in mine of the 3rd inst. I did not mean to suggest that his Majesty's Government should alone reform the internal administration of Morocco. What I wished to suggest was that his Majesty's Government should, in the name of suffering humanity, approach the principal European Powers who were signatories to the Algeciras Act, 1906, asking them to collectively bring their pressure to bear on the Sultan of Morocco, so that he would agree to the establishment of Mixed Courts throughout his dominions, especially where the reform asked for is for the purpose of removing the worst abuses in his country and the foulest blot on our civilisation.

"I would venture to say that surely the resources of diplomacy cannot fail to bring about this most necessary measure, which, in my humble judgment, is the only way by which the administration of Morocco can effectually be reformed and brought into line with European ideas of justice. Mixed Courts cannot fail, if established, to bring untold blessing to the oppressed inhabitants of the Moorish Empire. I would venture most respectfully to ask if you would kindly inform me if you would be prepared to bring the question of Mixed Courts before the Powers who are principally interested in Morocco, with a view of its being adopted and carried out.

"I am, sir, etc.,

"DONALD MACKENZIE."

"*To* DONALD MACKENZIE

"FOREIGN OFFICE,
"March 16, 1910.

"SIR,

"In reply to your further letter of the 11th inst., urging that he should approach the principal European Governments with a view to the establishment of Mixed Courts in Morocco, I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to inform you that his

Majesty's Government are not prepared to move in the direction suggested,

"I am, sir, etc.,

"(Signed) W. LANGLEY."

Following this appeal on my part, the Howard Association addressed the following letter to Sir E. Grey on the same subject :

[Copy.]

"To THE RIGHT HON. SIR EDWARD GREY, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

"43, DEVONSHIRE CHAMBERS, BISHOPSGATE WITHOUT, E.C.,

"SIR,

"April 22, 1910.

"The Committee of the Howard Association beg to state that they have had recent communication from various parts of Morocco showing very clearly that the state of the prisons and prisoners all over that empire, with the exception of Casablanca, is now as bad, if not worse, than at any previous time.

"The Committee fully recognise the good work that was done in the past by Sir A. Nicolson, but they regret to observe that all those improvements, so ably helped forward by that gentleman, are now reversed, and the position is as bad as it can be : without any hope of improvement unless European Governments interfere.

"They ask you most respectfully, in the name of humanity, to take the whole question into serious consideration with a view of taking measures to improve matters.

"In this connection they would urge on your attention the question of the establishment of Mixed Courts in Morocco for natives and foreigners, for they believe this to be the only remedy for the terrible oppression under which the Moors suffer.

"The proposed Courts would give ample security

to the persons and property of natives and foreigners, and would enable the European Governments to withdraw protection from their subjects and protégés, and thus put an end to a system which has for thirty years inflicted untold misery and terrible cruelties on very many innocent Moors at the hands of those who are protected. These evils have been and are in a measure indirectly sanctioned by the European Powers, and the Committee feel that some means should be found to put an end to a system so very unjust and so discreditable to Europeans.

"The establishment of Mixed Courts, which is supported by almost every European in Morocco, seems to be the only practicable measure for permanently improving the administration of justice and the whole prison system in Morocco, and it cannot be doubted that civilised France and Spain would join in a reform which, if accomplished, would prove a great blessing to the Moors and the whole empire. In support of their respectful plea the Committee beg to append some extracts from letters lately received by Mr. Henry Gurney, Chairman of the Association.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee.

"THOMAS HOLMES,
"Secretary to the Howard Association."

[Copy.]

To THE SECRETARY TO THE HOWARD ASSOCIATION

"SIR,

"FOREIGN OFFICE,
 "April 30, 1910.

"With reference to your letter of the 22nd instant, I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to inform you that he is in communication with his Majesty's Minister at Tangier, relative to the state of the prisons in Morocco.

"As regards the establishment of Mixed Courts in that country, Sir E. Grey is unable to adopt the

suggestion, as his Majesty's Government are not in a position to reform the internal administration of Morocco outside the scope of British treaty rights.

"I am, sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"LOUIS MALLET."

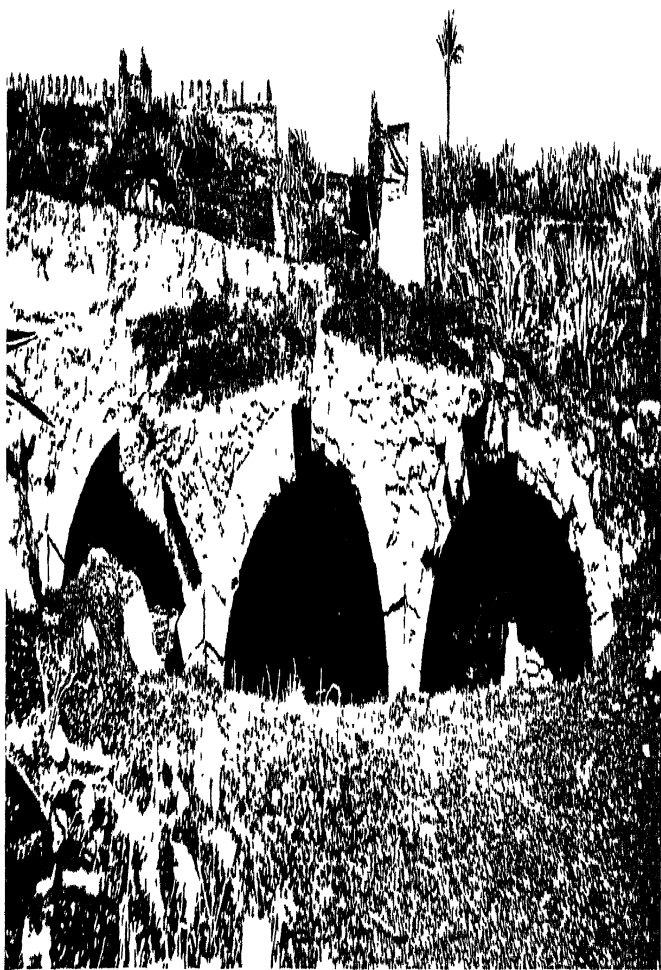
The replies received from Sir E. Grey were somewhat disappointing, considering the gravity of the question which was placed before him. Since writing those letters, Mr. Gurney visited Morocco, and stated, on his return, that the prisons he was able to visit were in a better condition than before. The governor of Tetuan gave him liberty at once to see over the prison, and treated him with every consideration.

Mr. Elson, who has charge of the Moorish room in Tangier, in a recent report to Mr. Gurney, speaks in very high terms of the British consular authorities in Morocco. He states that, regarding the matter of prisons and cases of injustice, he feels sure that they do all that they possibly can to show their disapproval of cruelty and injustice, and to influence the Moorish authorities to be more humane and just in their dealings with and treatment of the people. He adds that he always found the Consuls most interested, sympathetic, and ready to help. In reference to the state of the prisons and the sufferings of prisoners full credit should be given to the British consular officials for the services they have rendered in the cause of humanity.

The following questions were put in the House of Commons on July 11, 1910 :

"MOORISH PRISONS

"In the House of Commons, on the 11th, Mr. H. LAW (Donegal, W., Nat.) asked the Secretary of



ROMAN VAULTS, SHEELAH.

State for Foreign Affairs whether he had received any recent information from the British Minister at Tangier relative to the state of Moorish prisons and prisoners; and if so what action, if any, he proposed to take.

“MR. MCKINNON WOOD.—We have no information later than the report which was communicated to the hon. member in July 1907. We shall, no doubt, receive further information from time to time, but we do not see what action his Majesty’s Government can usefully take in Morocco.

“MR. LAW.—Do I understand the hon. gentleman to say that he has had no Consular report since April, 1907?

“MR. MCKINNON WOOD.—That is the answer I gave.

“MR. H. LAW asked whether the Secretary of State had received official information showing that cruel treatment of prisoners was frequent in Moorish prisons; and whether he was prepared favourably to consider in this connection the establishment of Mixed Courts.

“MR. MCKINNON WOOD.—As I have just stated, we have no recent information with regard to Moorish prisons. His Majesty’s Government are not in a position to make any change in the internal administration of Morocco outside the scope of British treaty rights, and in any case we do not see how Mixed Courts are to affect the treatment of Moorish subjects in Moorish prisons.”

“MOROCCAN TROUBLES

[*July 29, 1910.*]

“MR. ASHLEY (U.) called attention to the attitude of his Majesty’s Government in regard to the disorders in Morocco. The misrule in that country, he said, had grown worse during the last twelve months, and our Foreign Office practically admitted

that atrocities had taken place. The present Government had departed greatly from old Liberal traditions in standing quietly by while those atrocities were committed. (Hear, hear.) We must either withdraw our minister in Morocco or we must defend the atrocities. Members of the family of the late Governor of Fez had been tortured to death, and the British Consul deserved the greatest credit for the persistence with which he had protested against these diabolical cruelties. Two ladies of the Medical Mission in Morocco had, after much difficulty, succeeded in seeing the widow of the Governor of Fez, who had been imprisoned and tortured. She had lost the entire use of one hand, her shoulder was dislocated, she had bruises all over her body, from the chains with which she had been suspended, and it was very unlikely that she could long survive. When atrocities took place in Servia we withdrew our minister from Belgrade. Why should we treat Morocco in a more tender way?"

"ALLEGED CRUELITIES IN MOROCCO

[*July 14, 1910.*]

"Mr. COWAN (L., Aberdeenshire E.) asked the Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether the Sultan of Morocco recently addressed to the representatives of the European Powers a voluntary letter in which he solemnly undertook to suppress all cruel punishments; whether subsequently Muley Hafid caused the wife of Haj Ben Aissa, late Governor of Fez, to be cruelly tortured to compel her to disclose the place of concealment of certain moneys and jewels; whether her mother had died in consequence of similar torture; and whether his Majesty's Government had come to any understanding with the Government of the French Republic with the view

of obtaining from the Sultan effective guarantees for the abolition of torture in Morocco.

"Sir E. GREY (Northumberland, Berwick).—I cannot from official information add to the accounts which have appeared in the Press of these tortures, but I regret to say that there is nothing in such information as has reached me which tends to show that the statements made are untrue. His Majesty's Government would, of course, be most ready to co-operate in any action which is practicable and likely to be effective in putting a stop to such cruelties, but the whole question of improving the internal administration of Morocco is one of great difficulty."

"OUTRAGES IN MOROCCO

[July 29, 1910.]

"Mr. COWAN (L., East Aberdeenshire) referred to the situation in Morocco. We were interested in it, he said, on account of Gibraltar, because we did the bulk of the Moroccan trade, and because we were parties to the Treaty of Algeciras. It was said that the Government could not intervene because Morocco had become a French interest. But humanity was still a British interest, and it was a scandal and a reproach to this nation that we should maintain a British representative at the court of the monster who reigned at Fez, and attempt nothing effective to put a term to the atrocities he was inflicting on his subjects. We had no right to assume that the French Government would not respond to our representations in the interests of humanity. Many Frenchmen would welcome the stiffening of their own Government in this matter on friendly representations from Great Britain. It was not enough to say that the Government was willing to join with the other Powers in this matter; our Government should be the initiator in putting friendly pressure on the French Government. He scouted the suggestion

that a holy war would result if we did our duty as a civilised power. It was our duty to stop these outrages. The question might be one of great difficulty, but that was no reason why we should acquiesce in these horrible cruelties. He believed we had only to bring reasonable pressure to bear upon our great ally to make an end of these atrocities; but if the French Government would not co-operate, then with such enormous naval resources as we possessed we should not be timid; we should not be afraid to stand up to a small Power like Morocco; we should be prepared, if necessary, to demonstrate before Tangier. He asked for some indication that the Government were prepared to pursue a vigorous, humane, energetic policy.

“Mr. McKINNON WOOD (Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs) said the hon. member for East Aberdeenshire had delivered a speech of much vehemence and eloquence, but if he had taken the preliminary trouble to ascertain what had really happened, if he had even read the answers to questions within the last day or two, he would not have found it necessary to make that speech. He did not suppose there was ever an occasion on which a charge of remissness against the Government had been made with less foundation. The British Consul had been the first to protest against the cruelties perpetrated by the Sultan of Morocco, and his Majesty's Government had conveyed to the French Government all the information they possessed, with the object of getting the French Government to join them in putting pressure upon the Sultan in order to put an end to these abominable cruelties.”

I am led to believe that the action taken by Mr. Cowan and others in Parliament on the Morocco question has been of great public service.

I asked Sir E. Grey on August 3 if he would favour me with a copy of the latest reports he had

received on the prisons in Morocco, and he very courteously sent me a copy with the following letter :

[*Copy.*]

“ *To* DONALD MACKENZIE

“ FOREIGN OFFICE,
“ *August 12, 1910.*

“ SIR,

“ With reference to your letter of the 3rd instant, Secretary Sir E. Grey desires me to inform you that he has no objection to a copy of the ‘ Report on the Prisons of Morocco,’ which has been received from his Majesty’s Chargé d’Affaires at Tangier, being supplied to you. A copy is transmitted herewith.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your most obedient, humble servant,
“ (*Signed*) W. LANGLEY.”

The following is the Foreign Office Report on the state of the Moorish prisons :

“ MR. WHITE *to* SIR EDWARD GREY
(*Received July 18*)

“ TANGIER,
“ *July 7, 1910.*

“ SIR,

“ Upon receipt of your despatch of the 30th April, Mr. Lister addressed a circular despatch to the consular officers, requesting them to furnish him with a report upon the present state of the prisons in this country. I have the honour to transmit herewith extracts from the reports which have been received, which show that the condition of the prisons is very unsatisfactory at all places except Tetuan, Laraiche, Casablanca, Mazagan, and one prison at Mogador.

“ I have, etc.,

“ H. E. WHITE.”

" ENCLOSURE

" Extract from Prison Reports

" ALKAZAR

"The present state of the prison of Alkazar is terrible. It has not been cleaned since the time of Muley Abd-el-Aziz. The sanitary arrangements are very poor, and the result is that the stench is horrible. During the reign of Abd-el-Aziz the Makhzen allowed eighty loaves of bread per day to the prisoners, but since Mulai Hafid came to power this charity has been suppressed.

"If any prisoner is taken ill he dies like a dog, as there are no doctors in Alkazar, and no person is allowed to visit or inspect the interior of the prison.

"The prisoners are fed by their relations. Those that have no relations feed themselves by making palmetto baskets and selling them in the 'soco' (market).

" ARZILA

"The present state of the prisons of Arzila could not be worse. They are crammed with prisoners to an unbearable degree, and form a danger to the public health.

" CASABLANCA

"The Casablanca prison remains still the Makhzen prison, but it is under the immediate control of the French Commissary of Police, which is a guarantee that matters are well managed. He is assisted by a French sergeant, who does duty as chief of guard of the prison. The building has been entirely cleaned up and whitewashed, the drainage put in order, and there is well-water to wash with. Half a kilo. of bread is distributed to each prisoner twice daily, at midday and in the evening.

"No one is imprisoned without a signed order of

committal, giving the circumstances of the case and the sentence inflicted ; all of which details are entered in the prison register kept by the Commissary.

“The prisoners are made to work, such as sweeping the streets, carrying stones, etc., but I understand that Mokhalatin are not subjected to hard labour when purging a sentence.

“There are about 130 prisoners in the Casablanca Moorish prison, which is more or less the average number. They are mostly in for having committed small thefts, or for being indebted to Europeans or to natives. The administration of the Casablanca prison is now very satisfactory.

“FEZ

“There are four prisons at Fez, namely :

“1. Old Fez prison. This is for petty criminals and debtors belonging to ‘Old Fez.’ It is not crowded, and (for a Moorish prison) the condition seems tolerable. There is good sanitary accommodation, running water, fair shelter, and ventilation.

“2. ‘Sidi Furj.’ A house of detention for women prisoners. Is situated in Old Fez. The same remarks apply to it as to the men’s prison.

“3. Dakkekan prison. This is the prison for general offenders belonging to New Fez, and to tribes around Fez. The sanitary arrangements are bad, and the place is generally malodorous. There is a certain amount of open space, but at night and in rainy weather or strong sunshine the prisoners are crowded into a large shed. This prison is always very crowded. The floors are not tiled and are merely of beaten earth, and the walls are not plastered. The water-supply is insufficient. The prisoners mostly look very yellow, and sicknesses—chiefly fever—are more or less constantly prevalent. Many of the prisoners have no bedding, and are scantily clad in dirty rags.

"4. Zebbalo prison. This is entirely below the ground level. No sunlight can enter it, and it is dark and cold. The walls are rotten and damp. Many of the prisoners are almost naked. The drainage is bad and the stench overpowering. This is the prison for offenders of the worst type from all parts of Morocco, particularly political offenders of classes whom it is not intended ever to release; in other words, for what are known generally as 'Sultan's prisoners,' as distinct from persons imprisoned at the instance of governors or other subordinate functionaries.

"This prison is very strictly guarded, and the inmates are much less accessible to their friends, and to the food, clothing, and bedding which their friends can bring, than are the prisoners in the other gaols here.

"In all the gaols—in a general way—the prisoners' friends are allowed to bring them food, clothes, bedding, and even luxuries, except in some cases, at the Zebbala prison. In the latter cases some food may be issued from the Sultan's palace, which is close by, and friendless prisoners are allowed one small loaf and water by the Makhzen, and their share of bread supplied as charity by the public, or out of the proceeds of the sale of mats, stools, and paniers made by the prisoners.

"Malversation by the jailers, both as regards the bread and the sale of work, is, however, so prevalent as to greatly diminish the benefit which ought to ensue from these sources to the prisoners.

"The improvements as to limewashing, drainage, water-supply, food, and clothing, instituted about eight years ago, have been in desuetude for the last three years or so, which was due, in the first instance, to the Makhzen's impecuniosity, and later to the general change of personnel when Muley Hafid became Sultan.

"Unfortunately, it is here most difficult to get such

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"Unfortunately, it is here most difficult to get such

accurate, or even approximately accurate, details of the prisons as are necessary for a proper report on the subject, and which could only be procured by a European, or some such person as an educated Algerian, inspecting them. So far as I know Mr. W. B. Harris, who, some eight years ago, was permitted by the Sultan Muley Abd-el-Aziz to inspect and report upon them, is the only European who has ever been permitted to visit the Fez prisons.

“ LARAICHE

“As at present there are few prisoners, the state of the prison is much better than it was three or four years ago. The walls are whitewashed inside and outside more frequently than in previous years, and the prisoners can have as much clean and good water as they like. The bread supplied to the prisoners is more wholesome than that given before, as it is of good wheat.

“ MAZAGAN

“There is only one prison in Mazagan, which is kept in a fairly clean state and with a good supply of water, but this is done by private persons and not by any of the Government officials.

“No clothing, bread, water, or other provisions are provided by the Government, but the prisoners have to depend entirely for their food and clothing on their families, friends, or charity.

“There are now thirty-seven men imprisoned here, but there are no political prisoners, nor any who have been in prison for longer than two years. Nine of these are imprisoned for certain claims made on them, one is imprisoned for robbery, and another for highway robbery with violence. The remainder are imprisoned for minor offences, the majority of which have not been inquired into.

“MOGADOR

“There are two prisons at this port—the so-called ‘political’ prison at the water-port, and the ‘town’ prison in the principal square. There are at present in the ‘political’ prison twenty-eight prisoners, three of whom are country governors, former supporters of Muley Abd-el-Aziz, and twenty-five members of the Uwara tribe from the Sus country, who have been in prison for fourteen years and appear to have been forgotten. One of the Uwara states that he was imprisoned for stealing a small quantity of Indian corn. The ‘political’ prison is reported to be exceptionally clean and enjoys a good water-supply, both for drinking purposes and for those of cleanliness. The prisoners have two loaves of bread each day, and their condition is reported to be greatly improved during the last two years.

“On the other hand, the ‘town’ prison is said to be in an extremely insanitary state, both dirty and unsavoury. No food is provided for the prisoners, who are kept alive by their families. Few persons are, however, confined in this prison for more than two days. The water-supply is afforded by a well within the walls and is said to be abundant, but, judging by the accounts which I have been given of the unsatisfactory sanitation of the building, it seems unlikely that the water can be very wholesome. The prison is not, however, reported to be in a worse condition than formerly.

“MOROCCO CITY

“It is impossible to give an accurate description of the state of the prisons here, as no European is allowed admittance; but from all I can learn their condition and the lot of the prisoners is even worse than it was in 1907, when the last report was made. To judge from native reports, any description, how-

ever loathsome, will err on the side of depreciation rather than exaggeration of the filthy and insanitary state of the prisons and the unhappy condition of the unfortunates who are without friends to feed them or to obtain their release.

“The chief prison is the Medinah one ; the other one, being the Kasba, is reserved for political prisoners, governors, and Government servants, and the inhabitants of the Kasba. All these parties are comparatively small when the Court is absent, so that the following refers chiefly to the Medinah prison :

“The two most deplorable conditions are evidently overcrowding and filth. In a very small space there are confined some 500 men. The choice places to lie on are reserved to those who can pay the highest price to the gaoler, and all privileges are for the paying. Fetters are riveted on all who enter, and are removed by bribery. Much discomfort and often quarrels arise from there being only one lavatory. The meagre supply of bread of the poorest quality is no longer supplied by the Government. The prisoners who cannot supply themselves with food, or who have no friends to bring it to them, depend upon the charity of their more fortunate neighbours. Stealing food by the starving is very common. Deaths from starvation and the results of the insanitary confinement are very frequent.

“The pile of unsavoury filth which is carried out of the prison and put on the street at the door every three or four months gives an outsider an idea of what the interior is like.

“There is no limit to the sentence ; the duration all depends upon outside influence, and very little upon the nature of the offence.

“The personal influence upon the authorities of friends or of gifts procures the premature release of many a deserving criminal, whilst others who are innocent or deserving very short sentences are left

forgotten and forsaken to lead a miserable life and die a wretched death.

"During the reign of Muley Abd-el-Aziz periodical examinations were made, and those who were ill or starving or had undergone a long sentence for slight offences were released ; but this is no longer practised.

"The prison receives its supply of inmates from many sources : the governor, his khalifa, the two judges, the ' motahassib,' and the country governors who reside in the city.

"Of the women's prison, which is also the lunatic asylum, there is little to be said. I visited it many years ago, and I do not think there will be any improvement in it either. It was very filthy, with a large tank of dirty water in the court, and there were several women with large heavy chains around their necks fastened to the wall, and long enough to allow them to sit on the ground.

"RABAT

"There are two Government prisons at Rabat, one in the Moorish quarter and the other in the Kasbat-el-Oodaya, the old castle overlooking the mouth of the river.

"According to such information as I have been able to gather both of these prisons are in a bad state of neglect, and consist of a large courtyard with a well in the centre.

"About six years ago an attempt was made to reform the state of the prisons, and two ' umana ' (superintendents) and two ' adul ' (legal scribes) were appointed to supervise the prisons and keep a register of the prisoners, their offences and sentences. Two Moorish loaves of bread were distributed daily to each prisoner, and water was to be had from the well for the trouble of drawing it. The buildings themselves also were whitewashed and cleaned at certain intervals.

"This state of things survived for about three or four years, when the appointment of 'umana' and 'adul' was discontinued, and the supervision of prisoners entrusted to one man.

"At the present date no provision even of bread is made for the prisoners, who have to exist on their own means or the charity of friends or relations. The sanitary state of the buildings themselves is very far from satisfactory, whilst the duration of sentences even when trial has taken place and judgment been pronounced depends largely on the influence of the prisoner or his friends with kaïd or kadi.

"SAFFEE

"The prison building consists of two courts, or yards, open to the sky. Opening on to the larger of these are five cells and three lavatories, whilst the smaller yard gives access to two cells. The whole prison is inexpressibly dirty. There is no light in the cells or lavatories and no paving to the floors, which are some 8 or 10 feet below the level of the adjoining street. In rainy weather, consequently, the yards are knee-deep in mud, and the condition of the prisoners pitiable in the extreme. During the night the prisoners are locked into the cells, which, at all times overcrowded, are frequently so much so that there is scarcely room for the prisoners even to lie down. The lavatories are innocent of any attempt at sanitation, and form a veritable pest. The number of prisoners varies, but it is very seldom less than 100; 300 to 400 is the normal number. At one time there were 600 prisoners occupying the prison, but this is unusual. The authorities supply one loaf of bread per day to each prisoner, but they permit food to be brought from outside by friends or relatives of the prisoners. Water is also supplied by the authorities, but in insufficient quantities and brackish.

"Murder, robbery, false evidence, non-payment of Government taxes are several of the many reasons for imprisonment, but there is no doubt that a great number of innocent people are imprisoned unjustly, and there appears to be no system regulating the term of confinement. Before leaving the prison on liberation, each prisoner has to pay the warder a sum varying from one dollar upwards, according to his position in the world, in addition to anything from half a dollar to ten dollars to the soldier who arrested him originally.

"Death in the prison is no uncommon occurrence. On the death of a prisoner, notaries are summoned to record the death.

"TETUAN

"On the recent visit of Mr. Gurney and Mr. Elson here they obtained leave from the governor to go into the prison, and went in accompanied by Mr. Miller.

"This is, as far as I know, the first time Europeans have been allowed to go into the prison here.

"I am glad to say that they all reported very favourably on the state of the prison, saying that it only required a little whitewashing in places and some mats.

"Mr. Gurney told the governor of these wants, and he at once said, 'I sent mats to the prison to-day; I had not heard they were wanted before.'

"There were only three women in the women's prison when I last heard, and I understand that generally there are very few female prisoners.

"I regret to say that I have no knowledge as to what the women's prison is like.

"TANGIER

"Large prison. Contains at present 116 prisoners, for whom the authorities supplied only forty small loaves of bread and 40 gallons of water a day.

"No matting or bedding of any kind is supplied, and the floors and lower parts of the walls are dirty, though the walls were whitewashed about two months ago at the expense of charitable English persons, who also send 40 gallons of water a day to each prison. In consequence of representations made by me to Sidi Guebbas, an additional ten loaves of bread and 24 gallons of water are now supplied daily to each prison, and four gallons of petroleum are allowed per month for lighting them. Five pieces of matting have also been sent to each prison. This is insufficient, and I am making further representations on the subject. The water is required for cleaning the prisons and for ablutions as well as for drinking, and in the present hot weather there should be a liberal supply of water.

"The prisoners are allowed to receive provisions, etc., from their friends, and can earn money by basket-making, etc., and purchase food for themselves.

"Only a few of the prisoners are in irons.

"The female prison seldom contains more than half-a-dozen prisoners, who, being always from the town or immediate neighbourhood, are supplied with necessaries by their relations. There is at present only one woman in this prison."

The Foreign Office report reveals a terrible state of affairs in the Moorish prisons which might surely arouse the people of this country to insist that these horrors should no longer continue. It is quite clear that the prisons are in a much worse condition than would appear by this report. The British consular agents were unfortunately unable to examine the interior of the prisons for themselves. They had to be satisfied with hearsay evidence, which is not always reliable. The native officials would naturally try to shield their own Government, and report the state of the prisons and prisoners much better than is really the case. It is so far

satisfactory to observe that the Foreign Office is now contemplating taking steps to bring pressure to bear in the right quarter for doing something to improve the state of affairs in Morocco. Let us hope that the present visit of the British Minister to the Moorish Court will accelerate these steps.

We never expected or suggested that his Majesty's Government should undertake alone the reform of the internal affairs of Morocco, and one can fully realise the difficulty that stands in the way of a Government interfering in the affairs of another country, but it must be borne in mind that Morocco is not a civilised State, and we have interfered in the past in its internal affairs, sometimes united with other Powers and sometimes alone.

No treaty confers this privilege or right upon us in any way, yet Sir E. Grey states that we cannot interfere in reforming the internal affairs of Morocco outside the scope of British treaty rights. This would mean that we ought not to protest against slavery, or the state of Moorish prisons, or any other barbarity that may happen there, so that our efforts in that direction would be in vain. I cannot believe that this is the present policy of the British Foreign Office, and, as an indication of this, Sir E. Grey states that he is in communication with his Majesty's minister at Tangier, relative to the state of Moorish prisons in Morocco. We hope that he will see his way to approach the Powers with a view to the establishment in Morocco of mixed tribunals, and the withdrawal of consular protection as the only feasible remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of Moorish prisons and the poor wretches who inhabit them. France, Spain, and other Powers cannot hold back if approached and asked to aid in this laudable purpose, an act of justice to the down-trodden races of Morocco.



OLD FREED WOMEN SLAVES.



Photo by Miss Paul.

FONDUK BETWEEN TETUAN AND TANGIER.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROTÉGÉ SYSTEM : ITS ORIGIN AND ITS INJUSTICE

THE Protégé System has proved one of the greatest of the evils which have befallen Morocco. It was established thirty years ago with the consent and approbation of all the Christian Powers of Europe. In order that this system may be clearly understood, it will be necessary to relate how commercial transactions were carried on in that country before protection was established.

Very many years ago it would have been almost impossible for foreigners to have carried on business in Morocco without some sort of protection for their merchandise and property. In order that they should have this security, the governors of provinces became responsible for the debts contracted by the inhabitants of their respective districts, and the Sultan became responsible for the governors. The claims of traders could then be enforced by their respective ministers who visited the Moorish Courts. Indeed, debt-collecting became in many cases the chief object of their visits. The Moorish governors were, as a rule, grasping and dishonest, and in cases of debt due to foreigners a much larger sum was demanded than the actual amount, and all the inhabitants were held responsible.

These frequent exactions became a great hardship on the inhabitants, as the innocent had often to pay for the guilty. This system was so much abused in one province that a comparatively small sum due to a European firm had grown with enormous interest

until it reached in seven years the large sum of £240,000, which the governor found he could not squeeze out of the inhabitants. The Sultan eventually settled it by paying half, which was probably much more than the real sum. He made a terrible example of the governor and those who were under him. He declared that he would no longer be a guarantee for any of his subjects, as the system had been abused all round.

Commerce could not be carried on without some protection. Then a Conference of the European Powers was called, which was held at Madrid in 1880, with the object of arriving at some definite understanding regarding commercial relations with Morocco. It was finally agreed at this Conference that, in future, every European merchant resident in Morocco was entitled to two *semsars*, or two agents, who could carry on trade in the interior for their employer without the risk of being seized and imprisoned, and whatever goods they had would also be safe from seizure. The native agents were also to be exempt from paying taxation to the Sultan's Government.

This system, which is known as the Protégé System, has been abused to a terrible extent. The natives were not long before they saw the advantages of this foreign protection. They all, especially those who had property, were anxious to be exempt from paying taxation to their Government. It was the rich who now wished to become agents for foreign merchants, and they were willing to pay large sums to those who would give them this much-prized boon. There were plenty of European merchants who were only too willing to fall in with this simple idea for filling their own pockets at the expense of the Sultan and his Government.

The Grand Shereef of Wazan, who may be considered on religious grounds to be the second person in the Moorish Empire, sought protection for himself

and his people from the exactions of the Moorish tax-gatherer. He first applied to England, but was refused. However, France granted him what he sought, being actuated in doing this by political motives. France wished to gain the good-will of the Grand Shereef, who might prove useful in pacifying some of the turbulent tribes of Algeria, and also help the French to get a greater hold on Morocco. This action on the part of France deprived the Moorish Government at one blow of a large amount of its revenue. The effect of this new order of things was that, when a tax-gatherer came round to one of these protected persons and made a demand for taxes, he was met by the answer that the person was under foreign protection, and he dared not touch anything belonging to him. There were his cattle, and corn, and other produce, but they could not be touched. His neighbour, who was not so fortunate, was pounced upon without mercy, and goods were plundered to pay for himself and the protected one.

Merchants and Consuls and Vice-Consuls of foreign countries found the selling of protection a splendid means of enriching themselves at the expense of the Moorish Government, and there were plenty of Moors ready to purchase protection at high prices. The selling of protection by consular agents became a great scandal, and the British press made known to the public the injustice of it. The Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines' Protection Society took the matter up, and the strong representations they made from time to time led to some inquiries into the abuses which grew up under the Protégé System. Every effort was made, as far as British subjects were concerned, to modify the granting of protection, so as to avoid as much as possible the evils arising therefrom.

In the year 1886 I made a special journey to Morocco to report on the condition of the Moorish Empire. Sir John H. D. Hay, on that occasion,

gave me the following letter to the consular agents at the ports of Morocco :

“ *To THE BRITISH CONSULAR OFFICERS AT THE
WESTERN PORTS OF MOROCCO*

“ BRITISH LEGATION, TANGIER,
“ *June 12, 1886.*

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ This circular will be presented to you by Donald Mackenzie, who is about to visit the Moorish ports with a view to study the commercial resources of Morocco ; and I have to request you to facilitate the object he has in view by affording him full information relative to the trade at your respective ports, with Great Britain and other countries. Mr. Mackenzie is the bearer of a letter of recommendation from her Majesty’s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

“ I am, gentlemen,

“ Your most obedient servant,

“ J. H. DRUMMOND HAY.”

In the report which I addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs I dealt with the Protégé System, the prisons, and the administration of justice. After its publication, Mr. G. T. Abrines, of Tangier, translated it into Spanish, and it appeared in that language in several publications. The late Sir John H. D. Hay wrote to me from Rome as follows regarding it :

“ I have to thank you for your kind attention in forwarding me a copy of your report ; I had already read it, having received it through other channels. It is a very able report, giving correct information in a very concise form. I hope it will aid in drawing attention in England to Morocco, which might become an important mart for our countrymen.”

I wrote a private report at the same time to Sir

John H. D. Hay, at his request, on the various ports of Morocco, and as to the means which should be taken to improve them. This report undoubtedly did good service in drawing public attention to the Protégé System and other abuses existing in Morocco.

In 1890 Mr. Henry Gurney and myself made a special visit to Morocco, on behalf of the Aborigines' Protection Society, for the purpose of making minute inquiries into the Protégé System and the abuses which were carried on under it. We interviewed several high officials at Tangier, and gathered all the information possible at every point we touched. We journeyed by land from Tangier to Morocco City, and from thence back to Mogador. One of the most pleasant features of this journey was that we had no firearms of any kind, and we were not in any way molested. It was quite a peaceful journey; everything we required on the way was faithfully paid for. Even the wild Hassan tribes were quite friendly and kindly disposed.

We visited on that occasion all the prisons to which we could be admitted, and made inquiries of the inmates regarding the reasons why they were confined in such loathsome places. The answers, in almost every case, were that they were there for some supposed debt, which they were said to owe to Christians, while others had no idea as to why they were imprisoned. I put together the information we had gathered in pamphlet form, which was published and circulated. I sent a copy to the late Lord Salisbury and received the following letter acknowledging it:

“ *To* DONALD MACKENZIE

“ SIR,

“ FOREIGN OFFICE,
“ Jan. 28, 1891.

“ I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd inst., and to express to you his Lordship's

thanks for the interesting pamphlet on Morocco which accompanied it.

"I am, sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"(*Signed*) P. W. CURRIE."

There can be little doubt that this pamphlet was of considerable service at the time by placing before the public, in a concise form, the abuses connected with protection in Morocco. A copy of it was selected at the time by the Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office.

Protection and foreign politics gave rise to strange ideas in the Moorish mind. This was borne out by a story which was told to Mr. Gurney and myself while in Morocco City. A rich man had been pounced upon by the Moorish authorities for the payment of a considerable sum by way of contribution to the Government. He got alarmed, but somehow he became possessed of a paper on which were pictures of medals received by a cocoa firm. He displayed this document in triumph to the authorities, declaring it was a protection paper. Although it was really valueless, it saved him from the claws of the tax-gatherer for the time, at any rate.

Another strange incident came under Mr. Gurney's notice at the village of Harrashoa. The kaid of an adjoining village came to talk to him. He told him that he had purchased protection from the English, but on the death of Queen Victoria he feared that the protection of England was no longer of any use. So he went and bought protection from the Consul of another European Power. He had to pay him \$70, besides sheep and cattle. Mr. Gurney remarked that the Moorish Government, he hoped, would be improved in such a way that protection would no longer be required. The kaid replied that he preferred foreign protection to that of his own Government. Another Moor present remarked that

his uncle, who was not protected, was seized by the kaid of Alkazar, who put him in prison until he had paid \$700. This was probably done on a false claim.

These incidents give a fair idea of the fear of the grasping tax-gatherer to touch any of the protégés, and, on the other hand, the safety which the natives feel under foreign protection. If the Government of Morocco was only worthy of the name there would be no necessity for this system of protecting the natives from its own exactions. As matters are, its revenues can only remain in an impoverished condition.

Protection may be said to be the most troublesome question in Moorish affairs, and has led to scandalous abuses, which makes the name of Europeans hateful to the bulk of the Moors, and which, if permitted to continue in their present form, must make good government in Morocco impossible. It ought to be carefully studied with a view to its abolition. A protected Moor is raised to the level of a European. He is exempt from taxation and military service, and is only subject to consular jurisdiction.

It will thus be seen that, should the protected Moor be rich, it must prove very prejudicial to the Sultan's revenue and authority. The right of giving protection gave rise to many abuses, more especially what is called irregular protection—that is to say, that ministers and other foreign representatives could confer this privilege on as many rich men as they could get to pay them handsomely. This kind of protection can be withdrawn at the will of the granter, therefore the protected always remains in his grasp, and, being in continual dread of the governor, who is ready to pounce upon him whenever protection is withdrawn, he is obliged to satisfy his patron in all his demands. But this does not always secure his position, for the governor and the protector may one day agree to divide the plunder, which ends in the protection being withdrawn, and the poor man is cast into a loathsome dungeon to swell the

number of similar victims whose cries for justice are never heard by the outside world. Protection is often used as an engine of extortion, and even murder itself, and not a tithe of the iniquities perpetrated under the name and authority of foreign Powers are ever brought to light.

There are two classes of protection in Morocco—one against oppression and the other in order to oppress. The respectable trader who sees that a foreign merchant is exempt from taxation, which he himself has to pay on goods sold or bought or sent into the interior markets, finds himself at a disadvantage, and cannot compete with the foreign trader. He also wishes to be protected against the insults he has to submit to at the hands of low classes of foreigners and servants of many of the consular officers; he therefore obtains protection, which places him on a level with the foreign merchant.

The Jews, whose status is not of a high order, seek protection at any price, and spare no means to obtain it, and it is said to be abused by them to a greater extent than by any other class. On the other hand, there are many who seek protection in order to oppress those who have it not, or to evade the law if they have any great case at issue and fear the consequences of their acts. These are the best payers, and always go in for nominal employment at consular offices in order to make themselves secure against the withdrawal of protection. Once they obtain this, they can snap their fingers at Moorish law.

The Sultan complained, and with justice, that it was impossible for him to carry on the government of his country under such circumstances, whereby large numbers of the richest of his subjects set his law at defiance, and became exempt from the payment of taxation. It will be clearly seen that protection, under the present system, is unjust to the Sultan, whose power and authority it is gradually under-



KASBAH.



Photo by Miss Paul.

A RIVER SCENE ON THE WAY TO TETUAN FROM TANGIER
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mining. It is also unjust to the natives, for those who remain under the power of the Sultan have to pay for the protection, and thus become the victims of the extortion and rascality of both. It is unjust to the legitimate trader, who has now to contend with an unscrupulous set of individuals, whose manufactured claims against innocent people are more often attended to and paid sooner than are really genuine ones.

Many of the dungeons of Morocco are filled with the victims of protection, and they have no one to urge their cause, with the exception of Mr. Gurney and a very few others who have been impressed by their miseries. The pleadings of these gentlemen cannot really make any permanent improvement in the condition of the prisons, or prisoners, unless those in authority are prevailed upon to take the matter up, and remove this terrible blot on our vaunted civilisation.

I venture to remark, in this place, that England has on several occasions tried to improve the state of affairs in Morocco, but its well-meant efforts were always thwarted by France; indeed, the late Sir John H. D. Hay and his successor found France to be the great stumbling-block in the path of every kind of reform in the administration of Morocco. This policy, whatever its object may have been, is quite unworthy of France, or of any civilised Power, and I cannot help thinking that if responsible French statesmen were to study the question they would no longer pursue a course of action so opposed to the best traditions of their great country.

I do not mean to propose that protection can now be abolished, unless some institution is set up in its place, which will ensure equal security both to person and property of the foreigners and natives. I have always advocated a system of mixed tribunals as the only feasible remedy for the evils arising out of protection. I am of opinion that the whole adminis-

tration of justice in Morocco should be placed in the hands of Mixed European Courts, which would be a guarantee that no one, either native or foreigner, should be placed in prison without knowing the nature of his offences, and that claims against them should be inquired into without fear or favour. The institution I have proposed would help to reform and sustain the Moorish Government, and bring it more into conformity with European modes of justice. Its establishment would gain the gratitude of the Moors themselves. All those who have the interest of the Moors at heart are of opinion that Mixed Courts afford the only remedy for the present state of affairs.

I cannot help thinking that it is the duty of the European Powers to take the matter in hand. We have prided ourselves, in the past, that we have stood up for the weaker nations and taken the part of oppressed natives against the iniquities of corrupt Governments, and I am thankful to say that that splendid policy has been crowned with success in many cases. Here, then, is an old empire, almost at our doors, whose Government has been permitted before our eyes to administer a rich country possessing every material advantage in the most barbarous manner, without an effectual protest being made against the malpractices of the administration. We have not only allowed this to continue for very many years, but we have taken part in laying still heavier burdens on the inhabitants, and we are undoubtedly the cause of many of the evils from which the natives suffer.

When I say "we," I mean by that term all the Christian nations who have an interest in Morocco. Some may plead that the Algeciras Act has placed the burden of reform on France and Spain. I may say at once that the Act has hardly touched the fringe of reform in Morocco. It would seem that the aim of France is annexation, and thus to

sweep away the Khalifate of the West and its iniquities, and alter at one stroke the whole condition of life in that country. This may be accomplished by a gradual process, or otherwise, should England remain indifferent at seeing that important market closed against our merchants, and Gibraltar rendered useless as a stronghold.

I have never written a word against France. I have always admired that great country, and gave expressions to a friendly spirit towards her at a time when it was not the fashion in this country to entertain that feeling. But then their fiscal policy is not ours, and sometimes a friendship may be purchased at too dear a price. I trust that may not be the case now. I think, with regard to the abuses carried on under protection, that all the Powers should be appealed to, and let them work in concert, if possible, in the name of humanity. I do not think that France can afford to hold back from taking part in such a measure, which would be to her own honour and glory, as well as to her real interest.

CHAPTER XV

MISSIONARY AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES IN MOROCCO

It is only within thirty years that any missionary enterprise was commenced in Morocco, with the exception of the work carried on by the Franciscan Friars, the most liberal Order belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The Franciscan Mission was founded in Morocco in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The founders were Friar Berardo de Garvia, the chief of the mission, Friars Pedro de San Geminiano, Oton, Adquto, and Acursio, all Italians. On their way to Morocco they passed through Spain, and preached the faith of Jesus Christ to the Mohammedans at Seville, where they remained a few days. They then proceeded on their journey to Morocco, and afterwards made their way to Morocco City. There they preached about the law of Jesus Christ before the Sultan. He was, however, so wroth at hearing what they said against his own faith that he ordered the heads of these five brave missionaries to be cut off, which took place on January 16, 1220. The bodies of these good men were recovered and taken to Portugal, and buried in the Church of Santa Cruz de Coimbra. They were afterwards canonised by Pope Sixtus the IV. in 1481.

The Franciscans were neither discouraged nor dismayed by the tragic end of their brethren, for missionaries of the same Order went to Morocco the following year to carry on the work. Some of these suffered death, and others were cruelly treated by

the Sultans of Morocco. They had to go through many hardships and vicissitudes until they were firmly established in the land of the Moors.

I was acquainted with the late leader or chief of the Franciscan Order in Morocco, Father José de Lerchundi. He wrote several books on the Arabic language of the West. He seemed to be an earnest man, with broad views. He asked me once to appeal to the Protestant missionaries in Morocco with the hope that they might forget their creeds, especially before the Moors, and work together harmoniously for the good of the natives, who could not be expected to understand our differences in religious beliefs. I told him it was a difficult subject, and feared that my appeal would be fruitless. I did afterwards speak to a few missionaries about it. It was not received very favourably, so the matter dropped.

My first acquaintance with Morocco commenced in 1880, when I made my first voyage along its coasts. At that time there were no Protestant missionaries in the country, nor any religious agencies, with the exception of the Franciscan Friars, who practically confined themselves to the Catholic populations of Spanish, French, and Portuguese subjects. I was so much struck with the whole situation that I addressed the following letter to the paper *Africa*, conducted by the late Major Malan :

“ *TO THE EDITOR OF ‘ AFRICA*

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ *Dec. 21, 1881.*

“ On my way homeward last year we called at several ports on the Morocco coast. There are no Christian missionaries in this country, neither schools, with the exception of one Christian school in Mogador. The country presents a great field for mission work, and my object in writing this letter to your valuable paper is to try and interest some

Christians in behalf of Morocco, a country which I believe has a great future before it. When the American missionaries commenced their labours in Turkey fifty years ago Syria was then almost in the same state as Morocco is at this day. Now we find that there are nearly 25,000 registered Protestants in Syria, besides many others who have been educated by these teachers. These facts afford great encouragement to Christians. I believe the time is at hand when Christian missionaries will direct more attention to northern Africa than they have hitherto done. It was with thankfulness that I learned that Mr. Pearse has engaged in the good work of preaching the Gospel in Algeria; one of the interpreters who was with me at Cape Juby has joined him in his labours.

"I believe schools to be the best means of Christianising the inhabitants of Morocco, and are not likely to meet with so much opposition as purely mission work. If Christians would kindly come forward in this good work I think that there would be very little difficulty in obtaining efficient teachers.

"Yours truly,

"DONALD MACKENZIE."

This letter brought forth fruit in due season. Mr. George Pearse, the pioneer of Christian work in Morocco, acknowledged its importance, which I received with much thankfulness.

There were no Protestant missionaries working in Morocco at the time at which this letter was written, but missionary effort was being put forth on behalf of the Jews. The London Jewish Society had established an agent at Mogador in the person of Dr. Ginsburg, in conjunction with Mr. Zerbib. They encountered much opposition from the Jewish population. The good work was not, however, abandoned; it has been continued by Mr. and Mrs. Zerbib. They are both capable missionaries and they have now

outlived their considerable difficulties and have carried on very good work, which is not altogether confined to the Jewish population. Mr. Zerbib has taken a keen interest in the slave question and prison reform. In 1882 Mr. Macintosh was appointed Agent for Morocco by the British and Foreign Bible Society. This excellent gentleman and his wife carried on a successful work amongst the Moors for many years. He died in 1900.

In 1883 the North African Mission was founded. I had several interviews with its founders, Mr. George Pearse and Pastor Lowitz, who were very earnest men in mission work. Mr. E. H. Glenny, who had joined Mr. Pearse, brought his wonderful zeal and energy to bear on the work in Morocco. My first Syrian interpreter at Cape Juby, Mr. F. S. Zetoun, joined Mr. Pearse in his Algerian mission. I had been consulted by Mr. Anderson on his mission in southern Morocco. It is wonderful what change has been brought about in that country within the last twenty-eight years. To enlighten the public as to the progress of the work, I cannot do better than give an account of its progress in Mr. Glenny's own words, with which he kindly favoured me.

“To DONALD MACKENZIE

“During the last few years I have not been able to visit Morocco very often on account of a breakdown in my health in 1901 and again in 1905, so that I am not quite so closely in touch with the details of affairs in Morocco as a few years ago, though of course I follow the work with great interest.

“With regard to your inquiries as to missions, I am forwarding you a copy of *The Gospel in North Africa*, which will give you some particulars of how matters stood ten years ago. On page 245 you will find statistics as to the various missions then in operation. Since that date there have been certain

modifications, without much increase. I will enclose you amended statistics so far as I have them, but I have not had them checked by reference to the field. I think they are as accurate as the changing circumstances of the work make possible.

"The last few years have been a period of unrest and disturbance in Morocco. This has been specially the case during the reign of the late Sultan, who was not long since deposed in favour of his brother. He was an amiable young man, and at first, having strong advisers, the Government was fairly firm, but later on the country got out of hand, and he seemed unable to grapple with the difficulties. It was also believed to be the policy of a section of the French authorities to stir up unrest and make the condition of the country impossible of proper control, in order to justify them in interfering.

"The condition of the country was such that this would be easily possible. Whether this is really what happened or no, there is no doubt that having a disturbed and uncontrolled population on the west of Algeria afforded in itself a condition of things in which it was very difficult for the French authorities not to be compelled to interfere. The result of this disturbed condition of things was that missionary work became increasingly difficult. It was almost impossible to travel outside the beaten tracks, and not always possible there, and mission work had to be confined to the coast towns and a few large inland towns.

"The murder of Mr. David Cooper by a fanatical Moslem in Fez was very promptly punished by the young Sultan, who not only caused the murderer to be taken from sanctuary and put to death, but, unsolicited, handed over £1,000 to Mr. Cooper's widow. Probably no Mohammedan ruler in the whole history of Mohammedanism has ever acted in such a manner. His action, however, made him less popular with the fanatical section of the people.



TANGIER.



SOKO, TANGIER.

"A further step in the disturbed condition of affairs was brought about by the British arrangements with France, by which England was given a free hand in Egypt on condition that France should have a free hand in Morocco. British subjects were much annoyed by this imperial deal, but it is very difficult to see how it could have been avoided. Of course British subjects would like all disputed claims to be settled in favour of the United Kingdom, but, as there are other great nations in the world, this is hardly a practicable line to insist upon. As British interests are considered of greater importance in Egypt than Morocco, the interests in Morocco were to a certain extent sacrificed, though in some measure safeguarded, to those of Egypt. The Government and people of Morocco had always been more favourably disposed towards England than any other country, and they also felt themselves aggrieved and deserted in the hour of need.

"French interests were now more developed, though to a certain extent checked by the action of Germany. When the Emperor of Germany landed in Tangier he was welcomed by the British and the natives in the hope that he might be the deliverer from the French. His welcome would, I suppose, have been more enthusiastic had it not been for fear of the Anarchists, of whom there were a good number in Tangier, so it was thought wise to circumscribe his movements. Then, of course, followed the Alge-ciras Convention and the Casablanca and other troubles.

"Probably the thought in the minds of a good many French authorities is that gradually Morocco will come more and more under their control in spite of all previous treaties and arrangements. It is very difficult that it should be otherwise. The people of Morocco are too much at variance among themselves to present a strong front to any opposition; bribery, corruption, immorality, and ignorance abound,

and all these things constantly give excuse to France, with its much greater strength—for, with all its faults, it is much higher morally—to continually advance its hold upon the country and its government.

“In the midst of all these changes missionary work has made little advance for some time, though there has been encouragement within the limited sphere of its operations.

“With regard to education very little has as yet been done for the Moorish population, though the Jews have schools for their own nationality. The main difficulty in the way of educational work is, first of all, the fanaticism of the people, who, though much less bigoted than the Mohammedans farther east, are sufficiently so to make them object to their children going to a school where they would be under Christian influence and instruction. But probably a greater difficulty arises from the fact that the people generally have no appreciation of education. In spite of this something has been attempted, but the results at present have been very small. It has been estimated that not more than 5 per cent. of the population can read, and amongst the women not one in 10,000. Even among the men who can read many are unable to understand the classical Arabic in which the Koran, or even the Scriptures, are ordinarily translated. This has led some of the missionaries to undertake the new translation of the Bible into the colloquial Arabic, and certain Gospels are now in circulation, and other portions are in preparation. This effort has been pre-eminently helpful, as many now are reading the Scriptures with understanding who previously understood so little of what they read that they did not care to proceed with the task. Certain portions of the Gospels have also been translated into the Berber language.

“Medical mission work has been found extremely useful, and has done more than anything else to

dispel the ignorant fanaticism that prevailed. In addition to two hospitals in Tangier, one for men and one for women, there are dispensaries in Tetuan, Laraiche, Casablanca, Fez, and Morocco City, etc., and probably some thirty or forty thousand persons are treated annually.

"The number of converts from Mohammedanism to Christianity is comparatively small, but there seems to be a few thoroughly satisfactory cases.

"In regard to the mixed tribunals, I do not feel competent to speak with any great amount of authority. Missionaries do not come so much in contact with the system of protected subjects as merchants do; but, so far as I have heard, the protecting system is open to very grave abuse, and I should think that some system of mixed tribunals would be beneficial.

"Trusting that this information may be of some little use to you,

"I remain,

"Yours faithfully,

"EDWARD H. GLENNY."

MOROCCO

SUMMARY OF VARIOUS MISSIONS, 1910

Society.	Year commenced.	Men.	Wives.	Single Women.	Total	Stations.
London Jews' Society .	1875	1	1	—	2	1
Bible Society . . .	1882	1	1	—	2	—
North Africa Mission .	1883	3	3	16	22	5
Central Morocco Mission	1886	1	1	—	2	1
South Morocco Mission .	1888	6	5	6	17	4
Mildmay Jews' Mission .	1889	1	1	1?	3?	1
Gospel Union Mission .	1894	4	2	3	9	4
Independent . . .	—	3	2	—	5	1
		20	16	26	62	17

In 1889 Miss Charlotte Hanbury, of Richmond, directed her attention to Morocco. Her plan of

working was somewhat different from that of her predecessors in the mission field. Her mother had visited, with the late Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, the prisons in England in their worst days, and no doubt the relation of those terrible scenes of degradation and misery had so impressed the mind of Miss Hanbury that she directed her large-hearted Christian sympathy to the helpless Moorish prisoners, and also to those poor wanderers who came to Tangier from the far interior. She visited the prisons in various parts. She gave their inmates water, clothed and fed them as far as she was able, and gave them words of comfort and sunshine. She established a Moorish Room in Tangier, where the wanderers could find shelter and hear the Word of God. The Moors looked forward with interest to her annual visits amongst them. They soon recognised that she was devoted to their good, and she travelled amongst them in perfect safety.

I felt somewhat alarmed about her safety once. It was at the time when war was in progress between the Sultan and the Angera people and the British Consulate had issued a notice warning British subjects from venturing to Tetuan. Miss Hanbury took no account of the notice, but proceeded on her journey with her handful of followers, and her Syrian missionary. After she had gone I was much concerned and felt that I could not leave Tangier without knowing she was safe. I took with me my Moorish servant, and we started early in the morning mounted on two good horses. We had about fifty miles to ride through a rough country. We reached Tetuan the same evening without any mishaps, and found Miss Hanbury quite bright and happy, busy in the work of mercy amongst the Moors.

This only indicates how she was marvellously protected in her work and seemed to be quite indifferent to the dangers around her. She was the means of doing much good among the Moors, and especially



THE LATE MISS CHARLOTTE HANBURY, THE
FRIEND OF MOORISH PRISONERS.

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among the prisoners, whose terrible condition had appealed to her so strongly. She did her work quietly, and without any fuss, which was a charming feature of her labours. On December 7, 1894, she made a powerful appeal to the British Government to take strong measures to improve the state of affairs in Morocco. Before her death, which took place on October 22, 1900, she did not forget Morocco. She very wisely entrusted to Mr. Henry Gurney the continuation of her work in that country. Nothing could be more in keeping with the traditions of the Gurney family than that this gentleman, who is also a relation of Elizabeth Fry, should be associated with prison work. Miss Hanbury also left a sum of money for each prison to help the poor prisoners, and sent them a farewell message in beautiful, touching words. All her wishes were carried out by Mr. Gurney, who delivered her money and message. The natives felt very keenly the loss they had sustained in her death.

I am very glad to record that Mr. Gurney has carried on the Moorish Room with success. As many as eighty or ninety natives come to it at one time. Some have been helped to get work, while many have to be turned away on account of there not being sufficient room for their accommodation. Night after night throughout the year the Gospel has been read and preached to from twenty to eighty men who have listened with marked attention. The missionary in charge, Mr. Elson, gives in his last report a satisfactory account of the work, and, taking the daily attendance even at the low average of forty, it will be seen that twelve or fourteen thousand Moors have heard the Gospel—many for the first time—through the agency of the Moorish Room alone. This is very encouraging to renewed effort in the good work.

It is quite interesting to hear the people who come to the Moorish Room. Some make their way

to it from the Sahara, and other remote districts. In this way those who conduct it come into personal contact with a variety of natives from many parts who will carry with them to their friends in many parts of the empire the Christian teaching they receive. The Moorish Room stands as the best and most fitting memorial in Morocco to the unselfish work of the late Miss Charlotte Hanbury. Another Moorish Room has been started at Tetuan by Mr. Miller within the last two years. Mr. Gurney visited it this year, and that gentleman thought so well of the work that at Mr. Miller's request he advised his own Committee to undertake all the financial responsibility of carrying it on.

A Home for freed women slaves has been established in Tangier on similar lines to the one which had done so much good in Egypt. This excellent institution has been carried on in Tangier with much success. The Home at present is only on a small scale. It is to be hoped that, in time, the Moorish Government will be able to extend a helping hand to this work, similar to what is done in Turkey. The Government of that country carries on at its own cost homes for freed slaves in Constantinople, Tripoli, and other places. In Morocco the work is under the management of Miss Drummond Hay, the Shereefa of Wazan, and Miss Winslow, and these various agencies must eventually improve the condition of the people of Morocco, and lead them to think that Christianity, after all, is in every respect superior to their own faith, and induce them in the course of time to turn back once more to be followers of Jesus of Nazareth, as were their forefathers.

It requires patience and perseverance, and, more than all, the right kind of men and women to carry on the work, for disappointments and opposition must be expected even from those who ought to be friends. Missionaries should, in my opinion, lead simple lives in every way, so that the natives

may be impressed and follow their example. The Moors, I know, are more touched by example than teaching or preaching ; there are no people who study character more carefully, and they value teaching by the character of the man or woman who imparts it. Therefore, I think that missionaries, to be successful, should study thoroughly the character of St. Paul, the great missionary of Christianity, who lived the simple life. He discarded the luxuries of this world to show to those he taught that his sole object was not to gain wealth, ease, or comfort, but to save the souls of those whom he was able to reach. That was his greatest riches and his greatest joy. If missionaries go forth in this spirit their labours will be abundantly blessed, and they will see the reward of their efforts. No one can set himself a more excellent work than to try to improve the condition of such interesting people as the Moors, who are, in my judgment, capable of great things if brought under Christian influence ; and this is not an impossible task. The Berber element which predominates in Morocco forms the most intelligent portion of the population, and would be able, under the influence of Christianity, to emerge from their present darkness and take part in the great work of helping to bring the land under the blessings which have raised and ennobled the peoples of other countries.

CHAPTER XVI

SCHOOLS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

SCHOOLS, which have proved such an enormous benefit to the East, do not seem to have been taken up with the same spirit in Morocco as in Syria. The Anglo-Jewish Association has only one school, situated in Mogador. The Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris has schools in Tangier, with 339 pupils in Tetuan, with 340 pupils, and a boys' and girls' school in Mogador. The thirty-eighth annual report, which was kindly sent me, speaks highly of the results of those schools, and expresses the hope that similar schools in other towns of Morocco may be opened. English is taught in some of these schools, and I have no doubt that they will continue to be very successful. They are all most generously supported by public subscriptions, but their efforts are directed almost solely to the needs of their co-religionists.

The subject of schools has not received the attention in this country that it should have had from those who wish to improve the condition of the Moors. The Mohammedans are a fanatical people who look upon the Christian creed with aversion, owing mainly to the fact that they are so ignorant that they are unable to understand it; and this is not to be wondered at, when we consider that very few of the male population have any education at all, and those who are educated are only very imperfectly so. The women have no education whatever. One cannot reasonably expect that a very deep impression can be made on their minds by



Photo by Miss Paul.

A MOOR PLOUGHING.



OLD MOORISH KASBAH, TARIFA, SPAIN.

those who teach the Christian faith. There are native schools, and even colleges, in Morocco, but the teaching is almost entirely of a religious character. The pupils come out of these schools perhaps more fanatical and bigoted than they have been before.

The result of the schools in Syria is a very impressive lesson on what can be done by unsectarian education. They gained the confidence of all classes. Mohammedans and other sects went to them and found that their creeds were respected, while good general education was given of a much superior class to that imparted in any native school. I have known of many of the pupils, after they had been educated, leaving their old faith and embracing Christianity. Some might say that one would have to wait a long time to see the result. I grant it, but then the result would be sure and lasting, and might eventually permeate the whole multitude and bring them under the influence of Christianity.

The inhabitants of Morocco are really fond of education. When they travel in the East in the course of business, they generally take books with them. I have found, even in the Sahara, small libraries carried about by those who had received a fairly superior education, as understood by the Arabs. They had even books on scientific subjects. One would really be surprised at the interest they manifest in educational topics. Amongst their books were Arabic manuscripts of considerable value; these they treasured, and carried them about carefully wherever they went.

The Mohammedan religion is entirely different from that professed by the great races who inhabit the vast regions of Central Africa. Theirs is a confused mass of dark superstition which does not elevate them much above the brute creation; but that professed by the Moslems is of an entirely different order. It is not mixed in any way with the superstition which surrounds other creeds. They have no

images or pictures of any kind representing the deity or saints. They worship an unseen God, without Trinity. In all their prayers they acknowledge One God, and that Mohammed is the prophet of God. They believe in all the prophets of the Old Testament, also in Jesus as the Spirit of God. They believe that it is God alone who can forgive sins, while they firmly hold that Mohammed, as the friend of God, intercedes on behalf of the sinner, and that also Jesus will plead their cause. But all these professions are practically dead as forces for elevating and ennobling the mind without the Christian faith; but, on the other hand, the faith as professed by them comes nearer to Christianity than any other.

It is on this account that I think proper schools would accomplish a wonderful work in Morocco. It would enable the Moors to grasp the teaching of Christ, so superior in every respect to anything they now possess that they would embrace it in preference to the faith they now hold. If these schools are to prosper, they must be free from any sectarian principles which beset nearly every effort that has been made in foreign parts. I am also in favour of industrial missions, where useful trades could be taught to the natives. This would prove of immense advantage to the people of that country. I believe schools established on these principles would eventually receive the support of the Moorish Government, and might bring about a change in Moorish affairs similar to that which has been effected in Turkey by the Syrian movement. I hope that some who may read these pages may take the matter to heart, and establish in Morocco the educational and industrial institutions which have been an untold blessing to our own and other lands.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FOUNDING OF THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT AT CAPE JUBY AND THE DIFFICULTIES THAT STOOD IN THE WAY

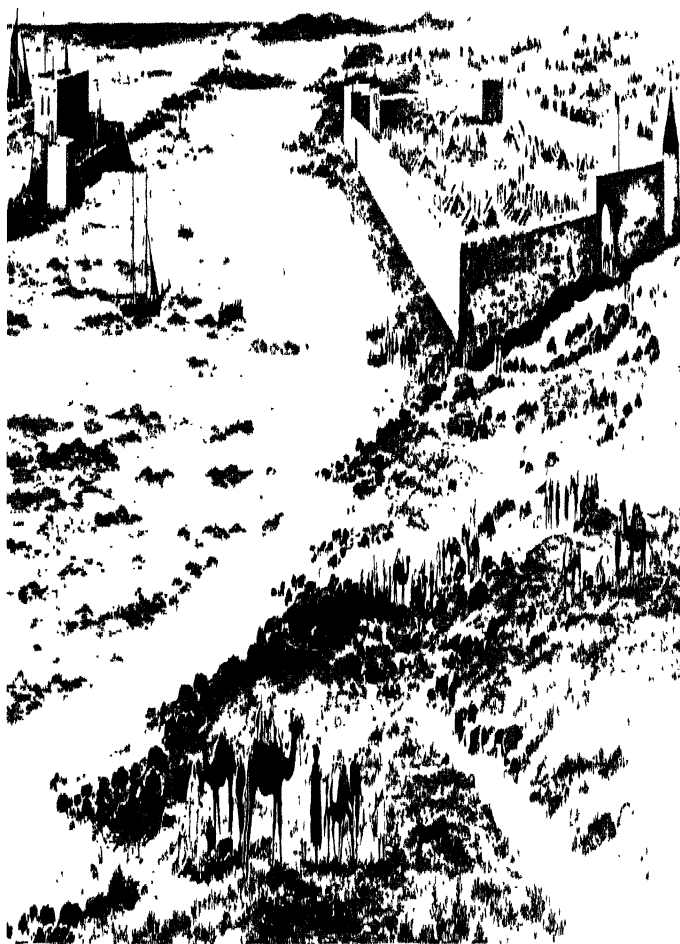
Now that Cape Juby and the surrounding country unfortunately form part of the Moorish Empire, having been transferred to the Sultan of Morocco in 1896, it will no doubt interest a good many of the British people to have a brief narrative of the founding of that settlement, and its ultimate transfer to Morocco.

It was in the year 1875 that at a meeting held at the London Mansion House, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, I first unfolded my plan for opening up direct communication with North Central Africa, from the north-west coast opposite the Canary Islands.

The late Sir R. N. Fowler and Mr. Samuel Gurney accompanied me to the Lord Mayor to ask the use of the Mansion House. I pointed out, at that meeting, that I had reason to believe that there existed, in the Western Sahara, a vast depression which might be submerged by the waters of the Atlantic, thus opening a navigable way to the interior. It was this part of my plan that greatly attracted public attention at the time, although it was by no means vital to my proposal. As a preliminary I desired that the Admiralty should undertake a survey of the coast of Africa opposite the Canary Islands, as I believed, from what I gathered, that a shelter for shipping or a safe landing-place would be found at Cape Juby or

in its neighbourhood. The Lords of the Admiralty declined, pointing out that no landing could be made with any safety on any part of that coast.

After a long correspondence on the subject, I came to the conclusion that I could obtain no assistance from that quarter. It seems strange, in this connection, that the Admiralty made a survey of Cape Juby in 1886, several years after the settlement was established which appears on the British charts. I made up my mind to examine the coast myself. Before doing so I laid my plans before the Lord Derby of that day, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with a request that his lordship would be pleased to try and obtain the friendly co-operation of the Sultan of Morocco in favour of my enterprise. The matter was in due course brought before the Moorish Minister for Foreign Affairs by the late Sir John D. Hay. This gentleman sent a long despatch dated August 27, 1875. He had an interview with the Moorish minister, who, however, assured him that the Sultan, though always anxious to comply with any request from the British Government, was on the present occasion unable to assist in any way, as the limit of his dominions did not extend so far south as Cape Juby, Wad Draa being the most southern limit to which his Majesty laid claim. He added that he was not able to exercise any jurisdiction or control over the inhabitants of the southern parts of his own country. Sir John, in the same despatch, drew a most terrible picture of the dangers that I should encounter if I tried to visit that part of the coast. In confirmation of this there was pointed out the fate of a European trader and his party who had ventured to those parts. They had been kept by the chiefs as prisoners for seven years, and over £5,000 had to be paid as a ransom for their release. This was all the encouragement I received from that quarter. Sir John Hay, in a private letter to me, advised, if



I should risk such an undertaking, that I had better place myself under the protection of a chief of the country that I proposed visiting. From Sir John's despatch it was very clear to me that no help could be obtained from the Sultan, and that his Majesty did not lay claim to any territory south of Wad Draa, a river about 150 miles north of Cape Juby.

Soon after receiving this official declaration I started for Cape Juby by way of the Canary Islands, without any recommendation or assistance from the Sultan of Morocco. The British Government had, however, very kindly secured for me the good offices of the Spanish authorities at the Canary Islands. I may here say a word about those delightful islands. So much has now been written about them that it is quite unnecessary that I should weary readers with a long description of them.

When I made my first visit there was not an English hotel in all the islands; there was no cable laid; hardly any English came out to them. The communication between the islands was carried on by sailing schooners, built in the place and commanded and manned by Canary men. I was simply charmed with the people, and received the greatest kindness and attention wherever I went. The climate is perhaps the finest in the world, and the inhabitants are very peaceful and tolerant in their religious principles. Even the priests show a great amount of toleration. My first impression was very favourable, and I may say that that impression was strengthened when I lived amongst them. The islands are all of volcanic origin, with high mountains, the peak of Teneriffe rising in height to about 14,000 feet above sea-level; so that a visitor can obtain any temperature he pleases—very hot on the sea-shore, and cold on the heights.

When I first visited the islands the cochineal trade, which had formed the principal wealth of the islands, had failed, and brought ruin to many a

house, so the inhabitants were in a bad way ; but very soon afterwards the English began giving attention to these islands, especially after the cable was laid—concerning which enterprise, I believe, I may justly claim the credit of being the first person to recommend it. Now there are hotels in all the principal towns, at which good accommodation can be obtained at reasonable prices, and industries have been started in many parts with British capital. Everything has changed. The land has gone up in price almost everywhere.

I made Lanzarote, the most northern island of the group, the headquarters of my operations. The Lanzarote authorities and people gave me a hearty welcome on my first landing amongst them and they informed me that the Spanish Government had sent them official orders to afford me every attention and assistance in carrying out my labours. They assured me of their own interest in it, as they hoped it might benefit their island in time to come. I had a meeting at my hotel of the most experienced sailors of Lanzarote, with the view of collecting every possible information regarding the opposite coast of Africa. Chartering one of the Canary schooners, I carefully examined a coast-line of about 200 miles in extent, and came to the conclusion that Cape Juby was the only safe harbour that could be found on the whole coast. I fixed upon it as the site of the future settlement. The natives seemed friendly, but there were only a few near the place at that time.

I visited Cape Juby again in 1878, but found the Canary authorities less friendly on account of instructions from Madrid. On my return from the coast I was not allowed to land at any of the islands, on the pretext that I might have brought cholera with me from the African coast. They wished to send me to Vigo to perform quarantine, more than a thousand miles away in mid-winter. I pleaded on behalf of my sailors, who were natives of the islands, and said that

our craft was unsuited for such a voyage at such a season of the year—for she was only a fishing-schooner of about 80 tons. My pleadings were in vain. I, however, compelled them to allow us to remain in Teneriffe harbour long enough to enable me to get provisions and water, and, with a young pilot who was sent on board, we set sail for Spain. When we arrived on the coast of Portugal we were caught in a great storm, which lasted five days, in which several vessels were lost with all hands. Our frail craft was in a bad way, our provisions were finished, and the water came nearly to an end. We had to drink half-salt water. I was expecting that the Canary sailors would treat me as a Jonah, and cast me overboard, for I was the cause of their misfortunes. They, however, stood loyally by me. Scurvy was unfortunately showing itself amongst us. We all rejoiced when we sailed up the Tagus, and cast anchor in front of Lisbon, for we were unable to go to Vigo. We were placed in quarantine at once.

The Portuguese authorities found that I had rifles on board, and some old English uniforms. They then took me to be a pirate or a high-sea robber. I explained that we required these arms for our protection, but they threatened to confiscate the vessel and all we had. To show that I was a dangerous person, I was not allowed to land for a walk except when soldiers were drawn up with fixed bayonets. The British minister soon assured the authorities that I was quite harmless, and had no idea of being a pirate. We were, however, eventually released from our detention, and set free. The vessel and the sailors went back to the Canaries and I to England in 1879.

I went to Cape Juby again and finally succeeded in establishing the settlement. Vague reports of what I was doing were made known to the Sultan of Morocco, who caused overtures to be made to me with the view of paying me a sum of money to desist from

going to Cape Juby, which I declined. I had finally succeeded, without any mishaps, in establishing the British settlement at Cape Juby with the sanction of the principal chief, Sheikh Mohammed ben Bairook, who ceded to me the port of Cape Juby and the adjoining land, which was done with the friendly co-operation of the chiefs of the surrounding country.

The Sultan of Morocco and his advisers had no idea that a commercial station could be established outside his authority. He was fully aware that many attempts had been made at various periods to gain a footing on that coast, and that all those efforts had come to tragic terminations. Even the Spaniards in the fifteenth century had been driven into the sea near Cape Juby by hordes of natives who swept down on them and destroyed their fortress. His Majesty and his ministers now began to regret having officially stated that Cape Juby was outside Moorish territory. They were astute enough to know that if my enterprise succeeded it must seriously affect Morocco both politically and commercially. Commercial intercourse between Morocco and the Soudan had existed from time immemorial, and was always of great importance to the Moorish Treasury. It was from that country the merchants of the north received gold-dust and ostrich-feathers, also a large number of slaves. The Sultan saw that the establishment of an independent British settlement at Cape Juby completely free from Moorish custom-house authorities would be a very serious blow to the southern trade of Morocco. He foresaw also a political danger. Arms and ammunition, he feared, might be poured in at Cape Juby for the use of the natives hostile to Moorish rule. As a preliminary, a small mission of inquiry was despatched by the Sultan to Cape Juby in 1880. These emissaries, during their stay with us, did their very best to frustrate our building and trading operations, but without success. They succeeded, however, in inducing some persons to



ARZILA.



VIEW OF TETUAN.

burn a wooden structure we had set up. They declared to us and the people that the whole country belonged to the Sultan.

In December of 1880 I explored the Rio de Oro to its source, or supposed source. It proved simply an arm of the sea which ended in a small island. The natives I found quite friendly, on account of their knowledge that I was from Cape Juby.

The Spanish Government had meantime been looking on with some degree of distrust at our progress. They were afraid that the whole of the coast opposite might become British, and that even the Canary Islands might transfer their allegiance. As a precaution, the garrisons of these delightful islands were increased ; in 1885 the Spanish Government took formal possession of a long stretch of coast from Cape Bojador to the south, and a military station was established at the river Oro. The Spanish authorities at the Canary Islands were instructed to place every obstacle in my way, with a view to interrupt my intercourse with the island from which I received my supplies. At last secret orders were issued and sent to Lanzarote, where I had my headquarters, requesting the local authorities not to allow me any supplies of water or provisions and to prevent me from landing at any point. Without any knowledge of these things I landed at the south part of that island without attracting any notice, although guards had been placed to watch at various points. While riding to the town overland I was met by a messenger bearing a letter from the British Vice-Consul advising me strongly to return to my ship. I took no notice of this advice, but proceeded on my way and entered my house without any further trouble. The local authorities immediately came to show me the secret instructions regarding me which had been issued by General Weyler, who was then Captain-General of the Canary Islands. After taking note of them I told the offi-

cialists that these orders were so barbarous as to be only worthy of the Dark Ages, and that I felt sure that the Spanish Government would not countenance their execution. I immediately made a formal complaint and protest, which was sent to Spain by the British Government. The Spanish Government denied all knowledge of the secret orders, and finally issued a Royal Order authorising the Canaries to have communication with Cape Juby on the same footing as with any other English port, and General Weyler was recalled. This was a most satisfactory ending to a very troublesome affair.

In 1882 the alarm of the Moorish authorities took a more serious and practical form. The Sultan, at the head of an army about 20,000 strong, marched into the Sus country for the purpose of bringing the refractory tribes of those districts under his sway, and, further, of overawing the inhabitants around Cape Juby, so that no trade or intercourse should take place with us. The heads of some of the chiefs in the Sus country were cut off in order to strike terror into others and I was singled out for a similar fate, a reward being offered to any one who would undertake my capture. The Sultan sent from his camp at Ras El Wad a special mission to Cape Juby to have a conference with me regarding the place. They arrived on September 12. They were Muley Ebn Abd El Malek (the Sultan's deputy and cousin), El Feke Sidi Mohammed, El Gobbas (secretary) Kaid Dahman (Governor of Wad Noon); also a kaid with four soldiers.

They brought with them the following letter of introduction from Mr. Harry Maclean, now Sir Harry Maclean :

“SULTAN'S CAMP, WAD EL RAS,

“DEAR SIR,

“July 23, 1882.

“I take the liberty of writing to you, as I am a Scotchman, to introduce to you Mr. Mohammed

Gobbas, who has been sent by his Majesty to see what you are doing. Mr. Gobbas has been three years studying in England, and knows our ways and customs. I have known him five years and always found him a very good and kind Moorish gentleman. He has asked me to write this in case he requires anything from you for his homeward journey. Trusting you will kindly excuse me for the liberty I have taken, and hoping you will let me know if at any time I can be of use to you here, believe me,

“Yours sincerely,

“(Signed) HARRY MACLEAN,

“*Kaid late 69th Regt.*”

They were a few days at Cape Juby before the interview took place, and meanwhile tried to induce the native chiefs and the merchants to forsake the district. The secretary opened the conference by stating that the Sultan had heard that I had established a port at Cape Juby, and that, this place being part of his dominions, he wished to know under what conditions we had settled and whether we had entered into any arrangements with the chiefs and people. He had heard of the burning of our house, and, being on friendly terms with the British Government, he did not wish any further harm to come to us from the Arabs. In conclusion, he wished to know if I required the co-operation of the Sultan. I stated, in reply, that as the members of the mission had not any credentials from the Sultan (which they had not) I could not enter into any official relations with them; that is to say, if they made any statement I could not regard it as emanating from the Sultan. I informed them that I did not in any way represent the British Government nor act as a political agent. I was only the director and representative of a British company, and my only desire was to carry on my operations in peace. I had no objection to impart to them, as private gentlemen, information

as to how we came to this place. This I did, pointing out the inconsistency of the Sultan's behaviour towards me. A few days afterwards they left for the north. We showed them all the attention possible during their stay, and they, on the other hand, tried their very best to do all the harm they could. The natives were delighted at their departure.

The Moorish military expedition, meanwhile, which was expected to have such far-reaching results in consolidating the southern portions of the Moorish dominions and to wipe out Cape Juby as a commercial station, ended in complete failure. The commissariat department broke down, the poor soldiers suffering terribly; of the 20,000, about 6,000 died through hunger and thirst. Under these conditions the Sultan and the remnant of his force returned to his northern capital. As nothing violent could be done for the moment to upset our plans, bribery and intimidation were resorted to. The Sultan preached a kind of religious war against us. Such chiefs as could be of service to us were asked to hold aloof, while those who persisted in having dealings with us were warned that they would be punished when visiting the Morocco markets. All this notwithstanding the warnings the Sultan had received from the British Government as to the danger of interfering with our work!

I must here remark that our chief and other powerful tribesmen stood faithfully by me during these difficulties, and our prospects of trade were so encouraging that we had to turn away about £20,000 worth of business in one year, being unable to supply their needs, and not prepared for such a demand at once. In 1883 I determined to visit some portions of the interior, which I shall relate in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII

AN ACCOUNT OF JOURNEYS MADE TO PORT CONSADO, SAGIA EL HAMRA, AND THE ARAB SETTLEMENT OF DOURAH IN WESTERN SAHARA IN 1883

I HAD long been anxious to examine Port Consado by land, so as to enable me to judge of its suitability for commerce. We were doing very little business at the time, I therefore thought it was convenient that I should undertake a journey to this place, and see how far it was possible for the Spaniards to make a trading settlement at Port Consado, which, if accomplished, could hardly fail to involve us in considerable difficulty on account of the proximity of the place to Cape Juby. When I was considering these journeys I proposed visiting Sagia El Hamra and Dourah first, afterwards Port Consado. The Moors urged that the heat in the former place would be very great, which would prove very trying to us. They asserted that it would be much better to visit Port Consado in August, and Sagia El Hamra and Dourah in September; but they were willing to go where I pleased. At last I consented to the arrangement which they suggested. After making every possible preparation for our journey, I went on shore on the evening of August 12, in order to start early the following morning.

August 13.—Mr. Spiridon and myself got up at 3 a.m. so as to get our party together and prepare to start at daylight. We were not, however, able

to take our departure before 7 a.m. Our party consisted of Mr. Spiridon, Mr. Rendall, and myself, with about thirty Moors, including the sheikh's brother (Abd El Kadir), three of his sons, and some other members of his family. Rendall had been in the Navy, and the Arabs took a great fancy to him. Although they could not understand a word of each other's language, he talked to them in English, to their great amusement, and they talked in Arabic. His good nature seemed to attract them, and they were most anxious that I should take him with us. After informing him of the probable risk he ran, he willingly came with us, and proved a source of amusement to the Moors all the time. We had eleven camels and two horses, which Mr. Spiridon and myself rode. We were fully armed. We continued on our journey over sand and rocky places, all covered more or less with bushes, until 12 noon, when we halted to partake of some food. Our route lay some distance from the sea-coast, as it yielded better pasture for our cattle. We started again at 3 p.m. The ground we passed over presented the same appearance as that over which we had already travelled. We halted at 6 p.m., and encamped for the night. Travelled about twenty miles this day; the thermometer in our tent stood at 12 noon, 81°.

August 14.—Started at 5 a.m. and rode smartly until we arrived within sight of Port Consado. The day being hazy, we were unable to clearly trace out its outlines. We pitched our tents at noon in a low-lying ground near the sea-beach, surrounded with sand-hills covered with stunted trees and bushes. A well was situated near our encampment which afforded plenty of brackish water for our animals and ourselves. The Moors advised that we should not proceed farther that day, but start early the following morning to see Port Consado and castle, and return the same day to our tents, which

would be left behind with a proper guard. After being assured that the distance we should have to travel was not great, I agreed to their proposal. Towards evening I walked on the sea-beach, on which the sea broke with tremendous force. The breakers extended out some distance, rendering it impossible for a boat to approach near the shore, and making landing out of the question. The thermometer this day at noon stood at 82°.

August 15.—Started with a party of eleven Moors at 5 a.m. for Port Consado. Our guide, who did not appear to be well acquainted with the country, led us among great sand-hills, in which we sank at every step. We were obliged to dismount and lead our animals over these terrible places. After about two hours' hard walking we cleared these sand-hills and came up to a settlement of Moorish fishermen, who appeared to be pleased with our visit. Several of them were known to me. We now rode on to a great *sebkha*, or depression, which lay before us. On our route we passed very dangerous places in which some of our animals sank in soft dark mud, out of which we had some difficulty in extracting them; we were at the same time tormented with thick clouds of mosquitoes. As we proceeded over this troublesome place we observed that the great *sebkha*, of which the Moors spoke, formed in ancient times part of Port Consado, but was now a depressed plain covered with salt. Extending on our right, as far as the eye could reach, the rocky cliffs which bounded it could be clearly traced. We mounted the opposite banks at 10 a.m. Some Moors who had proceeded before us fired their guns on our approach, to inform us that all was safe. The banks of this depression rose to a height of about 100 feet. We proceeded on our journey, riding smartly. We arrived on the rocky banks of Port Consado at noon, having been travelling, without rest and food, for seven hours under a hot sun. I was pleased to find the day had cleared

up and that a magnificent view of the port was now afforded from the mouth inland. The natives informed me that inside was called Knifis, and the other Nailah. Our halting-place was within a short distance of the old castle, which was situated on the sandy beach inside the port. We took a rough sketch of the outlines of the port; afterwards we proceeded to examine the ruins of the old castle while our people rested. On examination, it would seem that what we now saw was only the tower of a large edifice, which had sunk beneath the surface from some unknown cause. From the masonry it would be difficult to tell to what age the work belonged; the natives had only a very confused notion as to its origin. The stones were quarried from the neighbourhood. The natives said that some dressed stones were lying on the opposite side of the port, as if ready for shipment. The tower measured 27 feet square, 5 feet above sea-level, walls 6 feet thick, with a round hole in the corner as if for a flagstaff. The inside was full of rubbish. The tower had twenty loopholes, evidently for defence, but they were now on a level with the sea. The loopholes were 21 inches by 9 inches, and the largest stones of which the walls were built measured 8 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 21 inches high. A rough sketch of the tower, as it now appears, will be found in another part of the book.

The rough sketch I have given of Port Consado is a fair representation of the place. I took it from a high cliff that afforded me a splendid view of the whole place. Looking towards the entrance, although at some distance from where we stood, one could see the tremendous surf right across the mouth, which would seem to close the port against any vessel or boat. Immense sand-hills were piled up on each side of the entrance, which may in time block it up completely. This process of silting seems to have been going on gradually for some ages past. I made inquiries for fresh water, but the only water



SULTAN'S PALACE, SAFFEE



A MOROCCO POSTMAN.

the natives could produce was brackish. The aspect of everything was of the wildest description. We came in contact with some natives, who informed us that Dahman and the Sultan's secretary and cousin, who came to Cape Juby last year, visited this place and wrote down names and made inquiries regarding it; they also stated that a boat from a small Spanish steamer came in last year but did not land. They gave some gofio to the natives in exchange for some of the stones of the old castle. The natives, many of whom were known to us, behaved very civilly. We were anxious to remain longer, but the Moors urged us to leave as it was necessary to cross the *sebkha* before dark, it being a dangerous place. We started on our return journey to our tents at 3.30 p.m., travelling as quickly as possible. We reached our encampment at 7 p.m., rather weary, having marched about ten hours without any refreshments but bread and tea.

August 16.—Very hazy this morning. Being anxious to have a near view of the mouth of Port Consado, I purposed devoting a part of this day to that object. Mr. Spiridon, two Moors, and myself started for the mouth at 9 a.m. We proceeded along the sea-shore, and reached the entrance at 12.30. The weather clearing up, I was able to observe the mouth clearly. Tremendous breakers broke right across the entrance. Having now examined Port Consado as well as circumstances would permit, I felt convinced in my mind that the Spaniards would be unable to make any settlement at that place, and if they themselves were to see it, would, I think, come to the same conclusion. I felt somewhat relieved in my mind that we had nothing to fear from the Spaniards in that quarter. While we were at the entrance we saw about forty Moors fishing on one of the sand-banks inside the port. We returned to our tents at 3 p.m., and made arrangements to start the following morning for Cape Juby.

August 17.—Rose at 2.30 a.m. After drinking some tea we started, with a splendid moon, at 4 a.m. Our return journey lay along the coast. Saw many gazelles on our route. We travelled on without halting until noon, having made about thirty miles this day. The Moors wished to remain at this place to rest the remainder of the day. Their desire was to reach Cape Juby the following morning, so as to enable them to make a grand display of arms. To please them, I consented to this arrangement. Our encampment was near the sea-shore. On our journey we carefully observed the coast, but could not find any point at which a person could land with any safety.

August 18.—Got up at midnight and started, with as little delay as possible, for Cape Juby. Everybody now seemed eager to get back. We stopped about one hour on the way to enable the people to pray and rest. We approached Cape Juby at 6 a.m. People came out to welcome us back ; our party fired their guns in token of joy. They all seemed pleased with their journey. We considered our visit would do good in many ways, the news spreading throughout the country ; it would prove that confidence was established between us and that we were at peace with them. During the whole of our journey the Moors behaved well, not forcing their company upon us, nor doing anything that would be likely to annoy us or trouble us in any way. On the contrary, they paid us every attention, and after their arrival at Cape Juby they all expressed a willingness to make another journey.

Sagia El Hamra and Dourah.—The Moors had talked many times of these places, to which the Arab tribes resorted for pasture for their animals after the rainy seasons. They often said that Sagia El Hamra was a splendid valley, of great length and fertility, stretching far into the interior, and affording

abundant supply of food and water for themselves and cattle. They also asserted that Dourah was a very imposing place, having two large castles surrounded by low-lying ground, which yielded a great quantity of grain after the rainy season. There were fountains near the castle which afforded them plenty of water at all times, for they never dried up. This water they were anxious to utilise for irrigating the land, but were too ignorant to manage the affair. They wished me to pay a visit to the place and see if I could instruct them how to carry it out. I promised that I would go to Dourah at the first favourable opportunity. The Moors also informed me that there was an antimony mine at Sagia El Hamra. Although I had not much faith in their antimony, I thought perhaps there might be some valuable ore in the place. I therefore made known to them we would go to the Sagia El Hamra in the early part of September. One of the chiefs and the portion of the warlike tribe of Azurdeen who were to accompany me would only go on condition that we would return by Dourah; this was arranged. When I informed Sheikh Bairook of my plans he feared that I would find the place still hot and that I might not be able to pass on account of the water, as rain had fallen in the highland of the east. However, having made preparations, I was determined to go, and having given instructions regarding a caravan that was reported to be near Cape Juby, I went on shore in the evening of September 4, to be ready to start the following morning. Before going on shore I proposed that the *Rosario*, a hired Spanish vessel, should proceed down slowly as far as the mouth of Sagia El Hamra, and that we should travel by land as near the seashore as possible, so as to be visible to each other on the route. I was anxious to see if there was any secure place for landing on the way to the mouth, or if there was a port at the entrance itself.

September 5.—We left Cape Juby at 8.30 a.m.

Our party numbered about forty, almost all of them mounted on camels. The greatest part of my party were highwaymen—I thought the most suitable escort for such a dangerous journey. Mr. Spiridon, Rendall, and Randleson accompanied us; we were also mounted on camels. Sheikh Bairook's youngest son, Um Baruk, promised to follow us—after he had arranged some private business. We proceeded on our way down the coast, passing some goats and camels on the way until 3 p.m., when we halted and pitched our tents near the sea-beach. The *Rosario's* boat came on shore. The weather was good and the sea calm. Met some Moorish fishermen.

September 6.—Started at 6 a.m. About two hours afterwards we came to a little bay which appeared a good landing-place. The *Rosario's* boat came again to meet us. We proceeded on our journey again at 11 a.m., and did not halt until we arrived at a place called TafROUT, where we encamped for the night. Water drinkable. The *Rosario's* boat came on shore in the evening.

September 7.—Our party were engaged early this morning in what they considered a sacred duty—making their devotions at the tomb of a favourite saint called Maggara, on the top of which we found a serpent, known as the horned viper, with its head projecting out of his coils as if keeping watch over the precious remains of this great man. After the Moors had finished their devotions, which they did by firing their long guns over the saint's tomb, we started for Sagia El Hamra, the mouth of which we reached at noon, and pitched our tents near the springs. These fountains, of which there are a great number, are stopped up with long grass and filth so that the water, although abundant, is hardly drinkable. It is full of leeches and all kinds of abominations which only require a little trouble to clear away. The country we passed through on our way from Cape Juby to this place did not present anything re-

markable worth recording other than that it was fairly level, and covered with stunted bushes and a few herbs; but now the aspect of the country changed. We found ourselves in a fertile valley about six miles broad and extending far inland, the soil of the richest description to a great depth, and evidently abundance of water to irrigate the land if in the hands of civilised people. In comparison to the country we had passed, it was truly a lovely spot. Now we found good pasture for our cattle (which we took with us to supply our wants), and a variety of stunted trees. The whole place could be made very productive with little labour. Although it has every attraction that the natives could wish the whole country was desolate, abandoned to robbers, who picked up a precarious living on those who happened to come in their way. It is also the haunt of the wild boar, wolves, and other ferocious animals. While we were pitching our tents we saw the *Rosario* pass, but were unable to attract the notice of their boat. The sailors had evidently not known of this valley. They proceeded south until they were out of our sight. Before evening we walked to examine the mouth of this strange valley. In and about the entrance we found large sand-hills with channels between, through which the water of the river flowed in the rainy season. All that remained now was three small lakes of water, to the banks of which many birds and animals resorted. The Moors assured me that the whole of this valley during the wet season would be under water to some depth, and the hills I saw before me would become islands. I could hardly have believed this statement if I had not seen confirmation of it afterwards.

September 8.—In the morning we looked out for the *Rosario*. She was not yet in sight, and we feared that we should be unable to communicate with her ere our departure for the interior. Even if we could see her, it was doubtful if her boat could land at the

mouth of the Sagia El Hamra. We prepared to start inland in the afternoon, but as we were ready to leave, Um Baruk, the sheikh's son, arrived from Cape Juby to join our party, and, as he was weary with his journey, we agreed to delay our departure until the following morning. Mr. Spiridon, a few Moors, and myself, rode in the afternoon to the mouth to examine further and see if there was any suitable place where a boat could land. As we approached the sea-shore we saw the *Rosario* making her way back. Having made signs, she sent a boat to the shore. After some difficulty they landed and informed us that they thought we went further down the coast; not having seen us, they returned. I requested them to go back to Cape Juby and fish, and we would follow them, all being well, in a few days. Having received some fish from them, we went back to our camp. Some Moors in the district visited us.

September 9.—Started for the interior at 5.30 a.m. We crossed the valley of the Sagia, the aspect of which clearly proved that, with little labour, it would yield almost any produce. When we reached the other side we saw, stretching across our route, great sand-hills. The Moors assured me that, once we passed these, we would not encounter any more sand-hills until our arrival at Cape Juby. This announcement was a pleasing one, although it seemed contrary to one's ideas of the great Sahara Desert. We rode smartly and passed the sand-hills. On the other side the country, as far as the eye could reach, was free of sand but almost as level as a board. The country we were now passing over was about 250 feet above sea-level. At 9.45 a.m. we came to the Sagia El Hamra again, and pitched our tents near some trees in the valley. The heat was tremendous; at noon, the thermometer registered 123° in the sun. It would have been most inconvenient to have ventured farther this day. It was proposed that a party of us should go, the following morning, to visit the mine,

while the greatest number would remain behind to guard our tents, as we were now in a dangerous part. The Sagia El Hamra at the place where we encamped assumed a different character altogether. Almost perpendicular banks rose on each side to a height of about 150 feet, and the channel was about three miles broad. It was full of trees and bushes, so thick as almost to impede one's progress, and was haunted by a variety of wild animals. Down the middle of the channel flowed a stream of fresh water of about a mile wide, which appeared to be gradually rising, on account of the rains which were falling in the highlands in the east. While I stood on the bank of this river a Mohammedan priest, one of our party, came up to me and said, “You are the only Christian who could stand here alive.” I naturally thanked him for being thus honoured. The natives assured me that the waters rose some years to a great height. The appearance of the banks and the debris left on the trees confirmed their statement. During such a season there would be a depth of about 100 feet of water in the river, having a breadth of about three miles. I was astonished at this immense river, for it could be called nothing else, the sight of which seemed to give me very different ideas of the great desert. Here we were standing on the banks of a river which took its rise in the Atlas Mountains, then running south, passing the commercial settlement of Tenduf, afterwards sweeping round to the west until it reached the Atlantic about 60 miles south of Cape Juby. All that the land in its neighbourhood required was cultivation to render it fertile and productive. From this it would appear that the sterile appearance of the country was owing to the uncivilised state of its inhabitants. In this channel, amongst other trees, we found the date-palm; farther up the river the natives stated that there were large numbers of gum-trees.

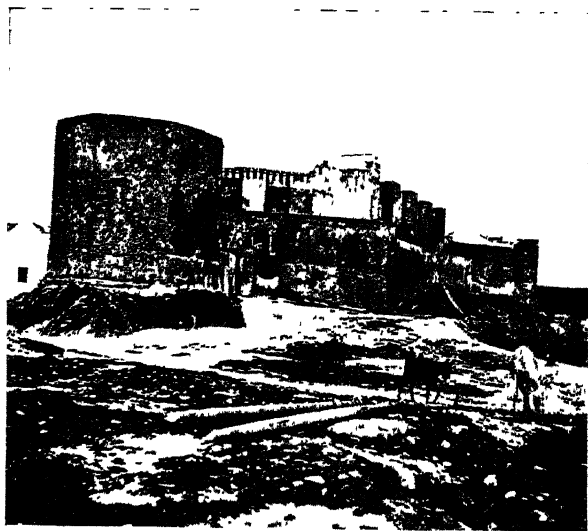
September 10.—Set out at 4.30 a.m. with Mr.

Spiridon and a few followers to the mine. As we proceeded we left the winding channel of the Sagia El Hamra on our left. We had not gone far when we saw the smoke of some great fire rising up from the valley. The Moors drew my attention to this and said it was a sign of danger ; that there must be a number of marauders in the district. They seemed uneasy. We, however, proceeded on our journey, now passing over a country which rose to a height of about 500 feet above the sea. We reached the mine at 7 a.m. The banks of the river now rose to a height of about 200 feet. The place they called the mine was about half-way down the cliffs. The whole surface was black with ore they called antimony. On breaking the surface in many places it seemed to be very poor stuff ; I should say of no value whatever. However, we took away specimens of the rock to see if it might indicate anything valuable. To make a proper trial one would require to blast it to some depth. The Moors spoke of a similar mine a considerable distance up the channel. Left for our tents at 11 a.m. On our arrival we found that, during our absence, the camp had been moved to the opposite bank. This was done as they feared the water might rise to such a height that it would prevent us crossing at this place. When we were away our people sent out a spy to see who the people were who made the great fire, the smoke of which drew our attention on the way. It was found that they were marauders, and that we should require to be on our guard. We now proposed to commence our return journey the following morning.

September 11.—Left Sagia El Hamra at 5 a.m. to return to Cape Juby. We proceeded in three parties ; about ten Moors, Mr. Spiridon, and myself, having swift camels, went on before, leaving the rest of our party behind. All the country we were passing through appeared fit for cultivation, some portions of it showing signs that it had produced crops at no



TETUAN.



OLD MOORISH KASBAH, TARIFA, SPAIN.

remote period. About 11 a.m. we entered the low-lying plain of Dourah. We crossed fields that had lately been under cultivation. Now the castle of Dourah appeared in the distance, with its high towers, showing every sign of a place of strength and importance. We were amazed to find a place of this character in the hands of the desert Moors. As we came nearer we could see two castles situated on each side of the head of the plain, as if to guard the road and protect the country; but on our approach the Moors were surprised to find men standing on one of the towers making signs of hostility by raising up their long guns in the air. We, however, rode on until we reached the foot of the castle, where we dismounted, and prepared ourselves either to attack or defend according to circumstances. We held a counsel of war, which was very noisy, after the manner of the Moors. The question we now wished to ascertain was the number of our opponents. All sorts of wild reports were coming in. Some said there were 200, others 80, and some made the more reasonable calculation that they were only eight men; that they were marauders we were assured. We were also informed that they were the people who made the great fire in the Sagia El Hamra. While we were in doubt regarding these matters, one of their number came out to speak with us. About the same time one of the chiefs of the Azurgeens arrived who formed one of our party. A short time afterwards we became friends without disturbing the peace. We now entered the castle to see these fierce robbers of the desert. We found that they were eight in number, made up of different tribes. From what one could gather they were allied with a much stronger party. We now took up our quarters in the same castle with these people, some of whom were known to us. We found the house was made into many divisions for the convenience of the inmates, and had a large number of rooms, with doors fairly well made. The whole

edifice was about 150 feet square, walls about 25 feet high, and the four towers which stood at each corner reached a height of about 40 feet. The whole building was built of clay; the foundations lay on the rock. Commanding the plain of Dourah and the fresh-water fountain near its walls, the towers had loopholes for defensive purposes. Altogether this castle is a place of considerable strength.

It will be noticed, in the sketch I have made, and which appears in this book, that there are two castles, one on each side of the head of the plain. One has high towers, those of the other are low and level with the wall, with one courtyard in the centre, while the other is divided into several courts. The wells are situated between the two castles. The supply of water is very abundant, but in a filthy condition. The people informed us that their enemies threw stones and rubbish into them to stop the supply, and spoil them; they further asserted that in ancient times the water flowed from these wells over the plain which enabled them to irrigate the land. They wished me to consider how the water could again be used for this purpose. Indeed that was their object in bringing me thither. I informed them that we would think over the matter; having now seen the place they were all very anxious that something should be done to enable them to cultivate the land, and they appeared willing to pay a moderate price. They showed me cellars underground where they stored their grain, but these were now empty. One could see at a glance that the plain of Dourah, if cultivated, would maintain a large population. They now depended on rain to irrigate the land, but if properly directed their fountains would be sufficient for this purpose. I inquired who built these castles. They replied: the tribe of Azurdeen, to whom the place belonged. This warlike tribe claim to have Christian blood in their veins. They stated that a vessel was wrecked on the coast a long time ago,

and that there were women on board. These their forefathers took and married; thus they became our cousins—a claim which they frequently made. Mr. Spiridon and myself slept in one of the towers of the castle, while our party and animals occupied other portions of this interesting edifice.

September 12.—Left Dourah at 7.30 a.m., after having wished the marauders, its occupants, a warm farewell. On our way we passed large *sebkhas*, or salt plains depressed about 150 feet below the plain. About 2 p.m. we saw many people coming in the distance. We were at a loss to know who they were. We again prepared ourselves to fight; but when we approached them we found that they were a caravan of Yakoots on their way from Cape Juby to their own place, having sold their wool at our factory. We saluted each other. They seemed pleased to see us, and gave us some Cape Juby water to drink. They promised a speedy return with more wool. We proceeded farther on our journey and halted at 5 p.m. and pitched our tents for the night. The country we had travelled over this day could be cultivated with a sufficient supply of water.

September 13.—We started this morning at 4.30 and proceeded slowly on our way, reaching Cape Juby at 10 a.m. Our men saluted the place with their guns, to which a reply was made. Our party were glad to see Tarfaya, or Cape Juby, and the people were glad to see us back safely. Here I must record that our party acted well during the whole journey, not making any complaint whatever; and, what is astonishing, that we did not pass a single sand-hill since we left Sagia El Hamra until we reached within about three miles of Cape Juby, a distance of seventy miles. The natives informed me that the country in the interior was entirely free of sand, composed only of red earth and rock, such as we had passed over. The sand-hills stretched from north to south not far from the sea-shore; once these are crossed,

sand does not exist any longer. The journey had opened my eyes to the character of the country surrounding us and gave me notions of its capabilities and natural resources very different from those I had formerly entertained. This country, in the hands of civilised people, could be cultivated and made to yield almost anything. Its present inhabitants are incapable of cultivating the place to any great extent ; they require to be civilised and taught the arts of peace. This is a matter of time and patience. Our expeditions north and south were a proof of our confidence in the natives, which cannot fail to prove favourable to the Company in their commercial relations.

CHAPTER XIX

FURTHER TROUBLES FROM THE ACTION OF THE SULTAN ; THE DEATH OF SHEIKH MOHAMMED BEN BAIROOK

IN 1883 the Sheikh Mohammed ben Bairook died. I was not present, but just before his death he handed his rosary to his son for me, as a sacred token of our friendship. This chief was over eighty years of age, and had proved himself a good friend to us. His wish was that his remains should rest at Cape Juby, but before he died he dreamt that his father and mother came and asked him to go to Wadnoon. After this dream he wished to be taken to his own town. This was faithfully carried out after his death. Long before his death I handed him a Bible in Arabic from the British and Foreign Bible Society. I had a suitable inscription placed in it. He returned it and took it away many times, but finally he retained it. He was really a well-meaning man, and always had a great idea of England, which he would have visited if he had been younger.

In 1884 the Sultan started to oppose us with greater energy than before. Soldiers were despatched to Cape Juby for the avowed purpose of intimidating the friendly tribes and making our position intolerable. Through this and other causes trade was brought to a standstill, and the unfortunate state of things culminated in 1888 in the tragic murder of our manager and the wounding of others of our staff. For this crime the Sultan was made by the British Government to pay £5,000 to the widow and those

who were wounded. At this critical period of our existence there were some who were in favour of abandoning the place, but it was decided to hold on. I proceeded to Cape Juby, accompanied by a mission from the King of the Belgians, with a view to report as to the suitability of the place for a sanatorium for the Red Cross in connection with the Congo Free State.

I took the Belgian mission to the mouth of the Sagia El Hamra and a few places around Cape Juby. An incident took place at this time which showed how easily confidence is destroyed among the natives. The Belgian Mission wished to visit a native encampment in our neighbourhood. I sent them on shore with an interpreter. They came back immediately with a holy man, who warned them that it was not safe. This particular man was a bad fellow ; he only wanted to frighten them. I told the Mission to go to where they wished and I should keep the holy man until they returned, and I told him that if any harm befell them that I should hang him on a crane which stood close by. He was looking most anxiously for their return. They came back, I was glad to find, in safety, and I sent the holy man on shore ; but he never ventured again to the castle. When he was afterwards asked, he pleaded some kind of illness. He had been trying, in order to please the Sultan, to bring about my own murder.

The Belgians were well satisfied with the place, and the King of the Belgians was prepared to join my company with £50,000 ; but we were advised that such an arrangement would not prove satisfactory, so the matter came to an end. While the Belgian Mission was at Cape Juby one of the Dwarf tribes of the Atlas Mountains came on a visit, and Colonel Baron Lahure sketched a portrait of him.

After a short time I succeeded in re-establishing order and reopening trade. I threatened to shoot any Moorish soldiers who might put in an appear-

ance at our place, and this had the effect of clearing them away. When, however, it was made known to the Sultan that his soldiers were driven away from Cape Juby, a small force of about 400 troops was sent to punish our friendly tribes, but with our assistance they were repelled with considerable loss. We were not after this so seriously menaced as before. We built a small walled town for the protection of the natives, and we strengthened a castle we had constructed on a reef near the shore by adding a small battery to it. The natives helped in all these works with good-will. Considering the amount of damage that had been done to us by the Sultan, I advised my company to claim compensation. This just claim received the support of the British Government, and the Sultan eventually agreed to pay us unconditionally £50,000 as compensation. With regard to our affairs, the following question was asked in the House of Commons :

“ ENGLAND AND MOROCCO

“ SIR R. FOWLER asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs to state the nature of the British claims which a portion of the Mediterranean Squadron had been sent to Tangier to enforce.

“ SIR J. FERGUSSON.—Her Majesty’s Government have never admitted the sovereignty of the Sultan over Cape Juby ; but he, on the contrary, claims to exercise authority there, and it was by an armed force of his soldiers that the European servants of an English company were treacherously set upon and one of them killed and two wounded. Her Majesty’s Government will not make demands which are liable to lead to extortion or injustice.”

For our better security I organised a small armed force, drawn mainly from Morocco, but with a few natives of the locality. This answered fairly well.

192 THE KHALIFATE OF THE WEST

The following letter will give a fair idea as to how our friends were treated by the Sultan's servants :

" Praise be to God alone, etc.

" To him who is ours and we are his, our friend and lover and protector in God, Mr. Mackenzie, we ask about your safety and about all who are connected with you, as you ask about us. We are very well, thank God. Then we inform you that we were going to you on account of the friendship and oath which was between us from the days of our Father Sheikh Mohammed ben Bairook, who charged us to your care and protection ; and now you do not know that we have quarrelled with the Kaid Dahman and the Moorish Government, all for your sake, and the treaty which is between us. As we were going to see you with our cousin Sheikh Ahmed Woold Habeeb bin Bairook, Kaid Dahman met us on the way with his soldiers and arrested Ahmed and imprisoned him, because he is your friend and he is one of us and like our father. We therefore ask you, if there is between us that love and covenant, to speak to the Sultan concerning Ahmed Woold Habeeb ben Bairook that he may be set free immediately. We also inform you that Dahman has unjustly enforced and confiscated our spring of water, with other property, and we are under the protection of the Company ; so we like you not to hesitate in helping us and also assisting our brother Bashire, putting him under your care day and night, and have him kept in big strong house, and do not trust the Mohammedans. We hope that you will soon help us at the Sultan's Court, as our trust is in you, and take courage and we are at your side. From your friends, sons of Sheikh Mohammed Ali, and his brother, Abdallah and all their brethren, young and old, males and females."



Drawn by Colonel Baron Lahure.
AHMED WOOLD EL BEHI, ONE OF THE DWARF TRIBES OF THE
ATLAS MOUNTAINS

I was anxious, about this time, to send an intelligent Mohammedan into the Atlas Mountains who might be able to bring us useful information about that country and its products. I chose for that purpose El Hadj Hammed. He had done the pilgrimage to Mecca, which gave him an odour of sanctity, and the Atlas was his native home. I thought that, as he was a Hadj, or a holy man, he could easily make his way among the Arabs his co-religionists. On arriving at Cape Juby I said: "Now go on shore and speak to the people, and see if you can make arrangements with them to take you to the Atlas. They are, as you know, Mohammedans like yourself; tell them you have been to Mecca." He went on shore and met the natives. After a time he came back and told me that he could not make any headway amongst them. He had no confidence in them, and they seemed to have less in him, notwithstanding his journey to Mecca. He declared that he could not go into the interior with safety unless I made some arrangements for him. I then sent a messenger to Woold boo du Boos, one of the principal chiefs of Ait El Hassan. He came down at once, accompanied by five horsemen. We spent quite half a day talking the matter over. I told the chief that Hammed was a pilgrim which ought to stand in his favour. Du Boos did not seem to appreciate my praises of the man. He finally said that, on account of our old friendship, he would undertake to protect Hammed, and bring him back in safety. The following is El Hadj's narrative on his return:

"El Hadj Hammed started from Cape Juby on December 12, 1891, with Mohammed Woold Boo du Boos, an Ait El Hassan chief. They reached his tent on the 14th. El Hadj remained here until the 20th, when he started for the interior, with the two sons of this chief as guides and protectors. The country over which they travelled during this day

was full of gazelles, and the land seemed fertile but destitute of inhabitants.

"December 21.—They started early, after the manner of the Arabs, and their road lay through a plain without springs of water, but they found a few people of the Ait El Hassan tribe living here in tents. At night they rested in the Wad Ben Aloosh, which is a dry valley, its sides being covered with tamarisks and other small trees.

"December 22.—During this day they entered into a more interesting country, showing signs of life and energy. They found the place inhabited by the Yakoot tribe, who had brought a large amount of land under cultivation, and was covered with crops of corn which promised to yield an abundant harvest. They observed a few hills in the distance, and plenty of springs of water were met with as they went along. Towards evening they came to Wad Chibaika, which was then full of water and difficult to cross. On its banks they found a house belonging to the Azzurgeens, but all the Yakoots lived in tents.

"December 23.—After crossing the Wad they entered into a country covered with trees. Found the whole place uninhabited until they reached Ras El Watiah, where they met a few people.

"December 24.—Now the travellers entered on a great plain called Watiah, of good ground that could be cultivated. Now and again they met a few shepherds tending their flocks; and thus they continued travelling until the 28th, when they came to the banks of the Wad Draa, the largest river in northern Africa, with the exception of the Nile. They found the river in a flooded condition, crossing then being impossible. Many Arabs were there in a similar position to themselves, waiting for the water to subside. When the river is full, the stream is stated to be three miles wide, but at low water it is only 600 yards across. They found its banks covered with trees of various kinds.

"*January 2, 1892.*—El Hadj and his friends were able to cross the Wad Draa, its waters reaching to their chests as they waded its stream. The country over which they were travelling assumed a flat appearance, but covered with very high grass, which retarded their progress. At night they rested at a place called Mootfiah.

"*January 3.*—They now entered into a mountainous country with abundance of water, and fairly well peopled. In the evening they came to a village called El Biar. It had about fifty clay houses occupied by Ait Musa Wa Ali (Dahman's tribe). A good many patches of land in the neighbourhood were under cultivation. They observed crops of barley, maize, and wheat. There were also a few fig-trees.

"*January 4.*—They rested this night at a place called Kasba, another village of large houses belonging to Ait Musa Wa Ali, and Ait El Hassan. There was a fair amount of land under cultivation. Here they found gardens of fig, almond, date, and olive-trees. There is no market held at this place. On their way from Cape Juby they passed many extensive *sebkhas*, or depressions full of salt.

"*January 5.*—Arrived at the city of Aglamin, the capital of Wad Noon, at about 10 o'clock in the morning. This is a large town surrounded with walls similar to all other Moorish cities. The houses are flat-roofed, and the Jews have their own peculiar quarters. Dahman is the governor of the town and the surrounding districts. He has a force of about thirty soldiers. With these and the tribesmen he is able to govern the place and give a certain amount of security to merchants and inhabitants. El Hadj passed Dahman's house, but did not see him. The town is well supplied with water from a river which passes near it. The surrounding country is well cultivated, and yields good crops. Aglamin is the great market for all the southern merchants. El Hadj found the market full of people, with all kinds

of produce, viz. barley, wool, skins, camels and other animals, dates, wax, oil, and butter. He saw some of the Company's goods sold here, and their blue calico was much prized by the merchants, who sold it for 10s. a piece. El Hadj heard in the market that Dahman received the things that were stolen from the storehouse at Cape Juby, and rewarded those who were engaged in the business with presents, and they remained with him for about a month, eating and drinking. El Hadj started with his companions the same day on his journey, and rested for the night at Fask Farm, inhabited by Ait Hammad Woold Cowrie, and Ait Billah. These people were in rebellion, and they were strong enough to drive away Dahman. The country was well cultivated, with an abundant supply of water.

“January 6.—Here El Hadj left the sons of Woold Boo du Boos to await his return, as they could not proceed any farther with safety. Towards evening he reached Tarzist, a large Berber town, of Ait Brahim and Ait Boot Gusday, near which there are certain valuable mines. Here there are four large ruined castles, said to have been built by the Romans. The governors of the place are El Hadj Ali and M'Barak. El Hadj says that the gold-mine is two hours' distance from Tarzist, the copper-mine about five hours', silver and antimony about ten hours'. If the minerals should prove of value he could obtain the right of working the mines. After remaining here a few days he started on his return journey and joined his companions at Woold Cowrie, carrying with him specimens of the minerals and some dates. With regard to this latter article he stated that he could do a large business in it, and he thinks they could be brought to Cape Juby at about 1½d. per lb. The governor of Tarzist is his firm friend, and he thinks that, with the assistance of the Ait El Hassan, there would be no difficulty. He arrived at Cape Juby on January 29, accompanied by members of Ait El Hassan.

He remained some time at Woold Bo du Boos' tent on his return. El Hadj thinks Cape Juby admirably situated for the interior trade, north and south, and if improved and more known would prove a great boon to the merchants of the interior, who must, under favourable conditions, resort to it as being the nearest point of contact with Europe.

"The general opinion he found among the people with whom he came in contact on his journey was favourable to our port, but there were many against it. And Dahman always tells the people not to trade at our place on any account. But the most sensible portion of the inhabitants look upon the place with favour, as it is a better market for them than Wad Noon."

My next venture at employing a man of saintly origin was when I engaged a descendant of the prophet Mohammed in the person of Hadj Ali Boo Talib; but the Cape Juby natives did not rejoice at seeing him. Saints seemed to be at a discount among these people. During his stay he wrote a letter to the Sheikh Ma El Aineen, a very fanatical holy man in our district, who has since appeared in the late revolt in Morocco. The answer is very oriental in character, as my readers will see by the following:

TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM SHEIKH MA LA
AINEEN (RECEIVED NOVEMBER 28, 1892)

*"Praise be to God alone and peace be on the best of
His servants.*

"After compliments and high regards, this is to the beloved in God, the Shereef Haj Ali Ben Ahmed Ali Talib. May God keep you, and many salaams and blessings. We received your letter (welcome to it and to you) and were pleased by your

coming to our neighbourhood, hoping to God that He may give success and gain to your trade and bless it and keep you safe in it.

"We (thanks to God) are busy, but if it was possible for you to visit us we would willingly welcome you. Excellent is the blood and the descent to which you are related, but I advise you to follow the piety of God the Great and the good counsel of the Sultan of the Moslems and the Moslem people too, for the Moslem will have no amendment from God unless he has an assistance from his Sultan, and an advice from his friends; otherwise he will be at a loss, and it is said be aware of what would displease your Sultan, and what would make your friends forsake you; for whosoever displeases his king exposes himself to death and harm, and whosoever is forsaken by his brethren will be extinct from freedom.

"In regard to your question about the Christians who are here, they are in the hand of Mohammed Sabir, who brought them to us, and he has sent and informed their people in the Dakhila, or river Oro, before the receipt of your letter, and in regard to what you have alluded about wanting somebody of our favourites, the bearer is one of them, and a sort of man that would keep a secret, and take care of a trust till he brings it to its owners, and may God reward you with what you wish completely, and with love and salaams.

"Dated in Thursday, Rabi the second, 1310."

The following is the translation of a characteristic letter from the Arab chief of Cape Juby to two ladies whose father he had visited with me at Reigate, Surrey, when in England. I remember, on the occasion of our visit, snow was falling on the ground when we were driving up to the residence. The chief expressed great surprise; he had heard of snow, but had never seen it before.

*"Praise be to God alone,
His kingdom only will endure for ever.
May the blessing of God be on the last of His Prophets.*

"This is from the writer, El Bashir ben Mohammed ben Bairook, to our dear friends, M. G. and H. L. G. May God preserve them. We inquire after you and all your family and connections, as you do after us. We are doing well, praise be to God! and we have received your present of the Old and New Testaments. We thank you for good friendship to us, and because you still remember us, and our visit to you, when we were in your country. We do not forget your goodness. We ask God to reward you for us, and to make us able to return your kindness. He is Almighty. We conclude, with all our full compliments to you and to your parents and brother, and all the family and relations. The servant of God, El Bashir ben Mohammed ben Bairook. May God be with him and his parents, and all the Mohammedans. Amen."

During the period of our occupation of Cape Juby several English, French, and Spanish companies started as rivals, I suppose under the idea that we were making a huge fortune, which was far from being the case. They all, unfortunately, failed, with considerable loss of capital. We were also favoured with visits from French and Spanish warships. The French Government were evidently afraid that we might introduce arms and ammunition, and so cause them serious trouble in Algeria. The warship *Cosmao* was despatched to Cape Juby to report on our operations. I may here mention, however, that there were two things I would not permit at Cape Juby—and in this I was always loyally supported by my colleagues—namely, the sale amongst the natives of arms and spirits. While we were at Cape Juby we were of real service to many poor captives of various nationalities by being able to liberate them from the hands of the tribes. On one occasion I was commissioned by the Greek Government to liberate three of its sailors who had been shipwrecked on the coast.

The worst treatment we received in regard to our

acts of benevolence was from the French authorities. In June 1892 a Frenchman named Ernest Marté, who had been in slavery for some long time in the western Sahara, was brought to Cape Juby by the natives in a destitute condition, imploring that we should release him, which we eventually did, at a cost of £25. We clothed and kept him for some time and then sent him to his Consul in the Canary Islands. We only asked the French authorities to pay the £25, which was the amount of ransom we had paid for him. The French authorities in Paris declined to pay anything or recognise our kindness in any way. How different from a poor Government like Greece, which not only paid the ransom, but sent me a letter of thanks!

In 1892 Sir Charles E. Smith went as British Minister to the Sultan's Court. He tried, with Lord Salisbury's approval, and at my suggestion, to come to a new understanding with the Sultan under which our company should hold Cape Juby and a strip surrounding it in independence, that we should lease from the Sultan all the territories from Wad Draa to Cape Bojador and administer them in his Majesty's name, and that a certain proportion of the profits arising from the administration should be paid to the Sultan. Sir Charles's mission, however, proved a failure on account of some difficulties that arose between him and the Sultan. We continued to carry on our operations at Cape Juby under the same drawbacks as before, hoping that eventually we might obtain administrative powers which would ensure our success.

In February 1895 I left England for East Africa as Special Commissioner for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. During my absence negotiations were carried on through the British Foreign Office and Sir E. Satow, the British Minister in Morocco, with the object of disposing of the Company's interests at Cape Juby to the Moorish Sultan. His Majesty



NATIVE CAMP AT FONDUK



OUR CAMP AT TETUAN.

finally agreed to purchase the rights of my Company at Cape Juby for £50,000.

The following is a copy of the Agreement under which it was sold :

“THE AGREEMENT

“As concluded between the two persons who are going to sign at the end of this document, and they are the Vizier, the honoured the worthy Cid Hamad ben Musa ben Hamad, and the gentleman the minister Mr. Satow, and they have agreed to the six following clauses below concerning the Moorish Government buying from the English Company called the Northwest African Company, the buildings, etc., in the place that is known by the name of Tarfaya or Cape Juby, that is in the country of the tribe of Tekna.

“1. If this Government buy the buildings in the place above-named from the named Company, no one will have any claim to the lands that are between Wad Draa and Cape Bojador, and which are called Tarfaya above-named and all the lands behind it, because all this belongs to the territory of Morocco.

“2. It is agreed that this Government will give its word to the English Government that they will not give any part of the above-named lands to anyone whosoever without the concurrence of the English Government.

“3. If this Government buy the buildings in the place above mentioned from the Company above named, the whole of the property shall belong to them : viz. the buildings with their stones and wood that are on the land or out at sea (*i.e.* the reef) and the whole of the property that is enclosed in the walls of the buildings, whether on the land or at sea, including cannons and any other property, and no one shall be able to lay claim of any kind whatsoever to the above properties, or lands, and the price this Government is to pay for all this to the above-

mentioned Company is put down at £50,000 ; half at the signing of this document, the other half when the Government receives over into their hands the above-named lands from the Company above mentioned.

“ 4. If the Moorish Government take over the place named from the Company named, by buying it, it shall remain open for buying and selling and the customs duties for exports and imports shall be the same as at other ports on the coast.

“ 5. If the Moorish Government take over the place named from the Company named by buying it, the Moorish Government shall not build, from the money of the Treasury, any houses for the merchants to live in or stores for their merchandise, and shall not supply boats to land or ship cargo until such time as it please the Sultan to do so.

“ 6. If any merchants wish to bring merchandise to the place named, and take a letter from the minister of their nation, this Government shall allot to them a piece of land at a rental to build suitable stores or dwelling-houses at the merchant's own expense for twenty years and at the end of twenty years the said allotments, with the buildings thereon, shall become the property of the Moorish Government.

“ After compliments, I have shown the six clauses written above to the Sultan—God give him the victory ! The agreement between us concerning these six clauses about buying for the Government of our Lord the buildings of the place named, the Emperor—God help him !—agreed to them all. Also he grants his consent to the buying of the buildings for his Government—God prosper them !—from that Company named above for £50,000, half of it at once and the other half when the Government receive over the place named, which shall be within six months, counting from the first of Shawal next to the end of Rabia next, and the Sultan—God bless his soul !—has ordered me to write the above, and also the Government perhaps will get ready some people belonging

to them to go out to the place above named at once, before they receive it over; and when they send them they will let you know, so that you can give them a letter from you to the Englishman there, so that they will receive them.

"(Signed) HAMAD BEN MUSA BEN HAMAD.

"*Ramadan* 16, 1312 (*March* 13, 1895)"

"*To the* WORTHY, HONoured, AND WISE VIZIER,
SID HAMAD BEN MUSA BEN HAMAD

"I agree to the six clauses written above, and I also agree to the Company above named selling the buildings at the place above named to the Government of the Sultan—may God bless him!—for a sum of £50,000 sterling, the Government to pay half at once, the other half within six months, counting from the 1st Shawal next (March 28), to the end of Rabia next (September 19), and the transfer of the place above named to the Moorish Government by the Company above named shall take place whenever the Moorish Government pays down the remaining half, namely, £25,000 sterling to the above-named Company. In token whereof I hereto append my signature this 13th day of March, 1895, being duly authorised thereto by Her Britannic Majesty's Government. If the Moorish Government desire to send any officials to reside at Cape Juby, there is no objection, but before doing so they must let me know that I may write a letter to the Englishman in charge there to receive them.

"(Signed) E. SATOW,

"*H.B.M. Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary.*"

The first news I had of the transfer of Cape Juby was when making a voyage down the Red Sea; in a parcel of the *Standard* newspaper I found an article

announcing it. The following extract will give an idea of the view they took of the transaction :

“ A Tangier telegram states that, in virtue of a compact made by the British minister, who has been all the winter at Fez, the English settlement at Cape Juby is to pass into the Sultan of Morocco's hands, and is henceforth to be a free port. We cannot but regret that this picturesque monument of English self-reliance will soon cease to fly the Union Jack. Indeed Cape Juby was in many ways so notable an attempt to secure for this country a footing on the African coast between Morocco and Senegal, that it deserved a better fate than the one now foreshadowed.”

It will be seen by the agreement that the Sultan cannot part with Cape Juby or any of the land surrounding it without the consent of England. On these grounds it has been asserted that Cape Juby may come to the front at a future time.

On my return from Zanzibar I acquiesced with reluctance and pain in the transfer. I was always most anxious to hold the place for England, as I felt assured that Cape Juby, which is one of the healthiest spots on the African coast, would in time form the basis of a grand trade-route to the richest parts of Central Africa. I here gratefully record the generous assistance which we have always received from the British Government in all our difficulties. I shall, however, always look back with regret on having had to give back to barbarism a place which seemed to me to stand out as a beacon of civilisation in a part of Africa which had been so long neglected.

Even as I close this chapter, a lady of high position in Tangier writes to me and says : “ What a sad mistake our Government made in giving up Cape Juby ! ” and this is the view held by many of the British merchants in Morocco.

CHAPTER XX

THE ALGECIRAS CONFERENCE AND WHAT LED UP TO IT

As will be seen in a former chapter, Morocco has been a bone of contention between three Powers for many years—England, France, and Spain. England, while not anxious to annex Morocco, would oppose its annexation by any other Power, as its occupation might menace the British stronghold of Gibraltar, which stands opposite. Commercially we have more interest in Morocco than all the other nations put together. France, on the other hand, has very good reasons for obtaining, if she can, the upper hand in Morocco, on account of her Algerian colony forming the eastern boundary of the Moorish Empire. The interest of Spain arises more from sentiment than anything else. As I have stated before, the Moors conquered and occupied Spain for many centuries, until they were driven back to their original home in northern Africa. The Spaniards always look upon themselves as being the true heirs to the Khalifate of the West, and as an earnest of the future they occupied Ceuta and Melilla, which might in time become the basis of operations for the subjugation of the whole of Morocco.

It has, therefore, not been politically to the interest of these Powers to take any decided measures for the improvement of Morocco. In other words, they could not, on account of mutual jealousy, unite to take any steps in bringing pressure to bear on the Sultan. The Sultan and his ministers knew this, and they for years skilfully played one nation against the others, and

as some of the representatives of the Christian nations were open to receive Moorish bribes, similar to their Mohammedan brethren, the Moors were able to carry on their barbarous rule without any effectual interference on the part of any of the civilised Powers. It has been asserted that France did not wish for reforms in Morocco, but a pretext for annexation, and certainly appearances favoured that contention.

The principal civilised Powers watched each other with jealous eyes, while the Moorish Government, the most corrupt in the world, oppressed the poor Moors in every possible way.

Within recent years another Power has come on the scene, and has had to be reckoned with—Germany. She found out that Morocco offered a good outlet for her manufactured goods. She therefore, on that account, became interested in Moorish affairs. Seeing this change in the political situation regarding Morocco, England, France, and Spain thought it was time to come to a definite understanding on the Moorish question, which was at this period becoming acute.

About this time British merchants connected with the trade of Morocco began to entertain serious apprehensions that British interests in that country might share the same fate as in Algeria, Madagascar, and Tunis. A strong deputation waited at the Foreign Office to place these views before the Marquis of Lansdowne, who replied as follows :

“Gentlemen, I have listened with very great interest to the statements which you have been good enough to make to me this afternoon. I feel no doubt that these memorials, which I shall not fail to study with the respect to which they are entitled, will prove of great use to us in further examining the important question about which you have attended here to-day. What you have said in this room has been sufficient, if anything had been needed, to show how important our trade in Morocco is and

how great are those undeveloped resources, in the development of which, some day or other, I hope this country may have a share. Now, I understand that your minds have been a good deal perturbed by rumours which have been so freely circulated in the Press as to the designs of another Power upon Morocco. It is no use, I think, disguising from ourselves that at this moment the future of Morocco is somewhat obscure. We all know, and no doubt you who have studied Moorish affairs more than I have well know, that the Sultan's control over a great part of the country has always been of a very shadowy description. I have been given to understand that his supremacy over something like three-quarters of the whole area of Morocco has been much more that of a religious chief than a ruler exercising practical authority over his subjects. At this moment the Sultan is evidently in a position of great difficulty, barely able, if at all, to hold his own against his rebellious tribesmen. Therefore, I do not think any of us can possibly forecast what may or may not happen in Morocco during the course of the next few years, but on one point, at all events, I can, I think, give you the kind of assurance which you came here to-day in the hope of obtaining. You may take it from me that, whatever be the result of passing events in Morocco, his Majesty's Government will make it their business to see that the trade of this country shall, in the future, enjoy the same equality of opportunity which it enjoys now—(hear, hear). Perhaps I may add that the warnings which fell, I think, from Mr. Lamb just now will be taken to heart, and that in the case which I am supposing (and after all we are only dealing at this moment with supposition), we should bear in mind the precedents which have been referred to, and see to it that equality of opportunity is really secured by solid guarantees—(hear, hear). I do not think I can add very much, except to say that I feel, as I am sure every

gentleman in this room feels, that anything that any of us can do to bring about the resuscitation of the prosperity of Morocco would be desirable, not only in the interests of this country but in the interests of civilisation in that part of the world; and it will certainly be the policy of his Majesty's Government to endeavour, on the one hand, to bring about a better state of things in Morocco, and in the next place to see that in no circumstances is this country deprived of that commercial equality which it enjoys at present."

After much negotiation, England and France came to an understanding which was embodied in the Anglo-French Agreement. By this document we gave over to France absolute control over Moorish affairs; her mission of penetration would receive no check from us. This was a very unwise policy on our part, quite a different policy from that shadowed by Lord Lansdowne in his reply to the deputation of Manchester merchants and ship-owners. While we all admire France as a great civilising influence, we know that her economic policy is not like ours. If she gained complete control in Morocco, our merchants then might wind up their affairs and depart. England, as a free trading country, cannot afford to lose an important market like Morocco. If we are to succeed, we must uphold the policy of the open door. Germany clearly saw this, and was not slow in standing up for it even at the risk of a great war. It was at this crisis that the following article appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, June 22, 1905:

"A PLEA FOR A CONFERENCE

"Mr. Donald Mackenzie, who speaks with authority on Moroccan affairs, takes a view of the present crisis which, there is some reason to think, is very largely held amongst commercial men. In the course of a communication to us he says:



SOKO, TANGIER.



ACCORDING TO MOORISH TRADITION THIS HOUSE WAS BUILT
BY GOD FOR MOSES ON THE TOP OF JEBEL MUSA,
2,900 FEET ABOVE SEA-LEVEL.

“ ‘The young Sultan and his advisers were within their rights to point out to the French minister that they were unable to accept the French scheme of reform. They were, however, willing that it should be submitted to a Conference of the Powers signatory to the Madrid Conference of 1880. This decision on the part of the Moorish Government would have probably been the same if the German minister had not been present at Fez during part of the discussion. Count von Tattenbach, however, enabled it to express its decision sooner. Germany will not reap any special benefit by the Sultan’s diplomatic move, but will simply share in the commercial development of the Moorish Empire. It does not at all follow that the Sultan and his ministers are anxious for reforms. The Moors are born diplomatists. They may hope, by making this counter-proposal, that the Powers will quarrel, and the country will be left in its present deplorable condition for some time longer. The Moorish ministers clearly saw that, if they accepted the French scheme of reform under the control of France, the independence of Morocco would be virtually gone. The position they have taken up is undoubtedly a strong one. The French Government should, I think, frankly accept the Sultan’s proposal. If they decline they will only weaken their position and make it clear that they have ulterior designs on the independence of Morocco, which it would be well for her to dispel. I have always been in favour of an international arrangement regarding the future of Morocco, and have made my views known publicly on several occasions.

“ ‘Morocco is a very important country, with a vast field of undeveloped resources and a population very different from the abject native races of Egypt. The inhabitants of Morocco are brave and warlike, and particularly intelligent. If they had the advantage of a fairly good government they would rise to a high state of social and material pros-

perity, and might become a powerful nation as of old. I am quite satisfied that France will not be able to obtain the sole control of Morocco without a serious struggle which might have far-reaching consequences for the whole position of France as a Mohammedan Power, and might ultimately lead to a European conflict. The Moors are very jealous of their independence, and any idea of conquest would cause a great upheaval amongst the people, which even the Sultan could not control. Although our friendship with Morocco dates back for many centuries, recent events have shaken their old faith in our benevolent intentions, and our minister seems to be received coldly, but of course politely. It was a short-sighted and mistaken policy which placed ourselves and France in this false position, but it is not yet too late to retrieve the position and show to the Sultan and his ministers that there is no intention to interfere with the independence of his country, the sole object being to reform the government and open the country to enterprise and commerce. On these lines there can be no objection to calling a conference of the Powers who were parties to the Conference of 1880, with a view to settle the whole question of reforms, which, when settled, should be carried out by an International Commission of the Powers concerned. The Sultan would thus be taken at his word, and the Moors and Europe would benefit by the change. I am perfectly certain that the inhabitants of Morocco would rejoice at such an arrangement. France, as being a near neighbour of Morocco, should take the lead, and at once see that the Conference is invited to meet and finally settle the whole matter. Such a movement on her part would earn the gratitude of the whole civilised world and would be an untold blessing to the Moors.' ”

As suggested in the above article a conference of the Powers was called together at Algeciras.

Their deliberations were protracted and there was great fear that the whole thing would prove abortive. Nearly the whole Press in this country fanned the flame of suspicion and distrust against Germany, which really endangered the peace of the world. On that occasion I addressed the following letter to the *Daily News*. It appeared in that journal on February 14, 1906.

"GERMANY THE CHAMPION OF THE
'OPEN DOOR'

"THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MOROCCAN QUESTION

"(To the Editor of the 'Daily News')

"Sir,—Will you kindly permit me to point out that the view your powerful journal takes regarding the future of Morocco is to my mind a mistaken one, and might, if adopted, lead to international trouble hereafter, and practically shut out British merchants from the markets of Morocco. You argue, on the 8th inst., that the 'future development of Morocco rests with France.' I differ entirely from that view. I am one of those who believe that the Anglo-French Agreement, as far as Morocco is concerned, was a mistaken policy, which might have led to serious international difficulties for France and ourselves. If France obtained the sole control over the affairs of Morocco the independence of that old empire would ere long disappear, and the fiscal policy of Morocco would be brought into line with that of France, which would close the door to the Moorish markets against our merchants unless we were prepared to go to war.

"Germany clearly saw that this would be the end of the new order of things. She has, under these circumstances, stood up for the open door in Morocco, and, I think, rightly so ; it is, to my mind, a sounder

policy for all concerned, and should receive every encouragement and support from this country, so long as equal rights are assured to all nations; this is the best and safest course in the interest of France herself. Her mission of penetration could not succeed without the final conquest of Morocco. This would be a very serious task even for France, as it might, and doubtless would, lead to a great upheaval of all the Mohammedan races of Northern Africa, which would retard civilisation instead of advancing it. This is practically the view of M. Clemenceau on the Morocco question, and I think of all serious public men in France.

“There is no reason why France should not take her fair share in the scheme of reforming Morocco and developing its vast resources. It is to her real interest in every way to see an independent and prosperous Morocco. There are two or three questions which are of the highest importance for the future of Morocco. The establishment of an international bank on a similar basis to that of the Ottoman Bank, which would take the financial question under its control. The administration of justice in Morocco should be entrusted to Mixed Courts. It might be questioned if such Courts would prove satisfactory, after the experience in Egypt, and it may, moreover, be pointed out that the position in Morocco is entirely different, and no serious difficulties are likely to arise. The internationalisation of the police, nominally under the Sultan’s authority, would undoubtedly be the best way out of the present difficulty. A most effective police force could be trained from the Berbers, who form the bulk of the population of Morocco. They are brave and faithful, and would work well under Europeans.

“I beg to point out that a great responsibility rests on the European Press with regard to the Morocco Conference. Every effort should be made to discuss calmly, and without bitterness, the questions at

issue, so that the labours of the Conference may be crowned with success, and that it may prove a turning-point, out of which will arise a regenerated and prosperous Morocco. Yours, etc.,

“DONALD MACKENZIE.”

It was some gratification to me to see that many of the reforms which I have advocated before the Liverpool and Glasgow chambers of commerce for many years, and also in pamphlets, were finally adopted by the Conference, and also the points which I urged for adoption in my letter to the *Daily News*; but there was one important reform which was not adopted, and that was the establishment of Mixed Courts to administer justice through the whole of the Moorish Empire, so as to bring it into line with European ideas of good government, giving a full measure of security to natives and foreigners. If this measure had been adopted it would have conferred the greatest blessing on the poor suffering Moors. I hope, however, that the Christian Powers will before long unite and carry it out.

After many delays over the consideration of divergent interests, in which, to their credit, all the Powers displayed much wisdom and good sense, the Algeciras Act was finally signed by the delegates on April 7, 1906. The following summary of the General Act appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* on April 9, 1906:

“TEXT OF THE IMPORTANT ARTICLES OF THE
MOROCCAN AGREEMENT

“ALGECIRAS,
“April 7.

“The delegates met at eleven o'clock this morning and signed the General Act of the Conference. One engrossed copy was signed by the delegates, and

will be deposited in the Spanish archives at Madrid. A printed copy of the General Act, certified to be in conformity with the foregoing copy, and signed by the President of the Conference, will be sent to each delegate.

"The Agreement, which is officially termed 'The General Act of the International Conference of Algiers,' is a document of great length, consisting of Seven Chapters and 123 articles, apart from the preamble and an additional Protocol.

"Chapter I. on the organisation of the police has already been in substance published, but, as the most important part of the Act, its principal articles deserve to be quoted in full.

"Article 2.—The police shall be placed under the sovereign authority of his Majesty the Sultan. It shall be recruited by the Maghzen from among Moorish Mussulmans, commanded by Moorish Caids, and distributed among the eight ports open to commerce.

"Article 3.—Spanish instructors, officers and non-commissioned officers, and French instructors, officers and non-commissioned officers shall be placed at the Sultan's disposal by their respective Governments, which will submit their appointments for the approval of his Shereefian Majesty. A contract between the Maghzen and the instructors, in conformity with the regulation provided in Article 4, shall determine the conditions of their engagement, and fix their pay, which shall not be less than double the pay corresponding to the grade of each officer and non-commissioned officer.

" TERM OF SERVICE

"Article 4.—These officers and non-commissioned officers shall for a term of five years from the ratification of the Act of the Conference, give their assistance in organising corps of Shereefian police. The regulations proper for securing the recruiting, disci-

pline, instruction, and administration of the police corps shall be settled by common agreement between the Shereefian Minister of War or his delegate, the inspector mentioned in Article 7, and the French and Spanish instructors of highest rank. The regulation shall be submitted to the Diplomatic Body at Tangier, which shall formulate its view within a month. On the lapse of that time, the regulation shall be put into force.

“Article 5.—The total effective of the police troops shall not exceed 2,500 men, nor be less than 2,000. It shall be distributed according to the importance of the ports in sections varying from 150 to 600 men. The number of Spanish and French officers shall be from sixteen to twenty, and that of the Spanish and French non-commissioned officers from thirty to forty.

“Article 6.—The funds necessary for the maintenance and the pay of the troops and the instructors shall be advanced to the Shereefian Treasury by the State Bank, within the limits of the annual police budget, which shall not exceed 2,500,000 pesetas (£100,000) for an effective of 2,500 men.

“Article 7.—The working of the police shall, for the same period of five years, be subject to a general inspection which shall be entrusted by his Shereefian Majesty to a superior officer of the Swiss Army, the selection of whom shall be submitted for his approval by the Swiss Federal Government. This officer shall take the title of Inspector-General, and shall reside at Tangier. He shall inspect, at least once a year, the different police corps, and, following these inspections, shall draw up a report which he will submit to the Maghzen. Apart from the regular reports, he shall, if he deem it necessary, be empowered to make special reports on any question concerning the working of the police. Without intervening directly in the command or the instruction, the Inspector-General shall take account of the results achieved by

the Shereefian police from the point of view of the maintenance of order and security in the localities when the police is installed.

“REPORTING TO TANGIER

“Article 8.—Copies of the reports and communications made to the Maghzen by the Inspector-General on the subject of his mission shall at the same time be handed to the senior member of the Diplomatic Corps at Tangier.

“Article 9.—In case of complaints from a Legation concerned, the Diplomatic Body shall be empowered, on advising the representative of the Sultan, to ask the Inspector-General to make an inquiry and report on these complaints, for all useful purposes.

“Article 10.—The Inspector-General shall receive an annual salary of 25,000f. (£1,000). He shall further have an allowance of 6,000f. (£240) for the expenses of his tours. The Maghzen shall place at his disposal a suitable house and shall provide for the keep of his horses.

“Article 11.—The conditions of his engagement and his installation shall form the subject of a contract between him and the Maghzen. This contract will be communicated, in the form of a copy, to the Diplomatic Corps.

“Article 12.—The Cadre of instructors of Shereefian police (officers and non-commissioned officers) shall be Spanish at Tetuan, mixed at Tangier, Spanish at Laraiche, French at Rabat, mixed at Casablanca, and French at the three other ports.

“Chapter II. deals with the surveillance and suppression of contraband arms. It consists of eighteen articles, and is devoted to laying down all sorts of restrictions, under penalties for violation, against the importation and sale of arms, ammunition, and explosives of every kind, and making regulations to stop contraband trade in them.

“ Chapter III., on the concession of a State Bank, is very long, being composed of twenty-five articles, many of them very detailed. The general provisions of this chapter have been fully published. The new State Bank, to be known as the State Bank of Morocco, is to enjoy its concession for forty years from the date of ratification of the General Act. It is to have the exclusive privilege of issuing bank notes, against which it is to maintain, for the first two years, a cash reserve of at least one-half the value of its notes in circulation, and after that of at least one-third value. The bank is to fulfil the functions of treasurer and paymaster of the Empire, to the exclusion of every other bank or credit establishment, and is to be the financial agent of the Government at home and abroad.

“ ADVANCES TO THE MOORS

“ Article 35 says : ‘ The bank shall make advances to the Moorish Government on current account to the amount of one million francs (£40,000). It shall further open, for the Government, for a term of ten years from the date of its constitution, a credit which shall not exceed two-thirds of its initial capital. This credit shall be spread over several years and employed, in the first instance, in meeting the expense of installing and maintaining the police corps, and in the second place in meeting the expenditure of works of a general interest. The rate of these two advances shall be a maximum of 7 per cent., including the Bank Commission, and the bank shall be empowered to ask the Government to hand to it, as security, an equivalent sum in Treasury Bonds. If before the expiration of ten years the Moorish Government shall contract a loan, the bank would have the right to obtain the immediate repayment of the advances made in conformity with the second line of the present article.’

“One of the tasks committed to the bank is the rehabilitation of the currency. The Imperial Bank of Germany, the Bank of England, the Bank of Spain, and the Bank of France will each appoint a censor to the new bank. The capital of the bank shall not be less than 15,000,000f. (£600,000), nor more than 20,000,000f (£800,000), but it may eventually be increased by decision of a general meeting of shareholders. Article 56 says: ‘The initial capital of the bank shall be divided into as many equal parts as there are participating parties among the Powers represented at the Conference. To this end, each Power shall designate a bank which shall exercise, either for itself or for a group of banks, the right of subscription above specified, as well as the right of appointing directors. Two parts equal to those reserved to each of the subscribing groups shall be allocated to the Consortium of the banks which signed the contract of June 12, 1904, in compensation for the cession which is made by the Consortium to the State Bank of Morocco of certain rights.’

“Chapter IV. deals with the subject of an improved collection of taxes and the creation of new sources of revenue. For the most part very technical and detailed, it contains a provision confirming the right of foreigners to acquire property in any part of Morocco, and undertaking that the transfer of property shall be permitted without hindrance.

“Chapter V. consists of twenty-eight articles, and is wholly devoted to regulations prescribing the methods to be adopted in levying customs duties and perfecting the system of collection, and others designed to prevent fraud and the importation of contraband goods, the penalties imposed being severe.

“Article 122.—The present General Act shall come into force on the day when all the ratifications have been deposited, and at latest by December 31, 1906.

“Article 123.—All the treaties of the Signatory Powers with Morocco remain in force. Neverthe-

less it is understood that in the event of their provisions being in conflict with those of the present General Act, the stipulations of the latter shall hold good.

"Both the United States and Sweden made formal statements to the effect that their adhesion to the agreement did not bind them as to measures which might be taken to enforce the agreement.

"On the conclusion of the formal business there was an amusing incident, a general rush being made by the delegates to secure souvenirs. Blocks of scribbling-paper, blotting-pads, inkstands, pens, and other articles were snatched up, and the tables swept absolutely bare.—Reuter."

"The German Emperor has conferred the Order of the Black Eagle on Herr von Radowitz, the Order of the Red Eagle of the First Class, set in brilliants, on Count von Tattenbach, and the Crown of the Red Eagle on Privy Councillor Klehmet.

"The *Matin* states that the Inspector-General of Morocco will be Colonel N. Robert, commanding the 4th Infantry Brigade of the Swiss Army. He is fifty years old, and has risen from the ranks."

This was the first step towards the regeneration of Morocco agreed upon. It did not, as a matter of fact, satisfy everybody, but on the whole the agreement arrived at was a fair one as far as it went, and might be improved in its working. Whatever faults the German Government may have, with regard to the Morocco question we in this country owe them a debt of gratitude. We, by our short-sighted policy, practically bartered away our commercial interests in Morocco, for some shadow; the German Government became the champion of the open door, and they triumphed at Algeciras and secured a guarantee for our commercial interests as well as their own.

CHAPTER XXI

THE WORKING OF THE ARRANGEMENTS AGREED UPON AT ALGECIRAS

It is now about four years since the Algeciras Act was signed and ratified by the Powers of Europe.

France and Spain, who were jointly commissioned to superintend and see reforms carried out in Morocco, set the machinery in motion without much delay. Casablanca became the scene of their operations. The French started by introducing some innovations which proved distasteful to the Moorish mind, and which they naturally resented, promptly showing their hostility by attacking and killing some Frenchmen. This act opened the door for what was considered in some quarters would prove a military promenade through Morocco to punish the evildoers, and perhaps at the same time take possession of a portion of the country under the name of order. But France found this idea, however attractive, rather difficult to carry out. Fierce engagements took place outside Casablanca in which the French and Spaniards lost heavily, more troops were demanded from home, and warships to aid the land forces. The French Government promptly sent out all that was required.

Engagements were taking place outside the town with varying success. Before the contest ended, the Spaniards, who had some cause of complaint, retired and left the matter in the hands of the French, who on their part could not afford to withdraw. They kept on the struggle for a time, but eventually peace was restored. The Moors had shown what

stuff they were made of and the French did not gain much glory in this little war on Moorish soil. The quarrel has caused a good deal of blood to be spilt on both sides without much result as far as one can see. It has, however, one result, which is rather to be deplored. It confirmed the Moors in the idea that the only object the French and Spanish reformers had in view was conquest, which was naturally resented by the natives, and this will be found more clearly as time goes on.

Not long after the Spaniards were led into a little war of their own; that was at Melilla on the north coast of Morocco. It appears that a Spanish Company had fixed on a spot in that neighbourhood for mining operations. The Riffs, or Berbers in that district thought the miners encroached too much on land that did not belong to them, and they objected in the only manner known to themselves. They did not resort to diplomacy through the minister of the Moorish Government, which they ought to have done, but took the matter into their own hands and attacked the Spaniards and drove them off. The proud Castilian blood could not stand this, and, without inquiring in any way into the grievance, they returned the compliment, and thus a little war commenced, which seriously threatened for a time a civil war in Spain itself. For there were wise men in that country who did not quite approve of the high-handed policy of the Spanish Government in dealing with the Moors. The Moors, on their side, showed that they were capable of defending their own country. They out-generalled the Spaniards, killing a large number of the forces sent against them, and threatened at one time to drive the Spaniards into the sea. The position was so serious that Spain, with much difficulty, sent a force of about 40,000 troops to Melilla to try and retrieve the honour of the country. It was a difficult position for the Spanish Government to face. They were threatened with revolution

at home and disaster abroad. Through great losses the Spaniards were able to hold their own in the face of their formidable enemies. If these Riffs had only been properly armed, and led by able leaders, they would have driven the Spaniards out of the country.

One would think that Spain would find it more profitable to take measures to develop the resources of her own splendid and rich country than to pursue adventures in Morocco. Spain may be truthfully considered, in natural wealth, the richest country in Europe, but it unfortunately suffers from the same disease that affects Morocco—that is, a bad government. It is out of the question for Spain to think that she could conquer Morocco, or any part of it. Then why should she shed her blood and treasure in a hopeless task which cannot bring either honour or glory?

Spain is not yet able to withdraw her forces from Melilla. The position is far from satisfactory. Now it is reported that she is wishing to make a road from her settlement at Ceuta to Tetuan, so as to connect these two places. She has always had a hankering after that Moorish town. The position of Tetuan is favourably situated for military operations. If that town were only fortified up to date it would command the whole of the surrounding country, and would thus form an excellent military base for any campaign that might be hereafter undertaken in North Africa. This project can only be interpreted as an indication of the policy which Spain intends to pursue in Morocco—that is, the occupation of a great slice of the northern part of that empire. She has not yet got consent for making this road, which if only undertaken for the sole benefit of Morocco would prove of the greatest advantage. There is no reason why a similar road should not connect Tangier with Tetuan, instead of people having to make their way, as now, by difficult paths. How much more easy it would be to travel over a

properly made road, safe for man and beast! By such simple means as this the trade of the country would increase more than tenfold.

We will now return to the work of the Commission, which was established by the Powers under the Algiers Act. It was entrusted, as the reader will observe, to France and Spain, two nations who have not concealed the fact that they have certain pretensions regarding the territory of the Sultan. The French have the dream of a great African Empire before their mind, stretching from the land of Pharaoh, and including the Khalifate of the West. This dream is not likely to be realised, but still it is there.

Frenchmen have declared that they do not wish to expand, only to consolidate and develop the possessions they now occupy. This is a sort of self-denying ordinance which time and circumstances may change, as it has been in other cases, and then it might be abandoned. Spain, on the other hand, as I have already explained, looks upon herself as the sole heir to the valuable inheritance of the Sick Man of the West. Spain lies opposite to Morocco, and it would suit Spanish interests to have as a colony a country so near her own shores, and then to dominate a population who were at one time their own masters. But then Spain must civilise herself first before she ventures to impart blessings she does not herself enjoy to a people who were at one time her superiors in every way. So the pretensions of Spain may be set aside as impracticable. I do not mean by that to convey the idea that Spain will relinquish her dream, which is a real one to her, and which she would no doubt venture at great risks to try and realise. The Moorish statesmen and people are not such fools that they are not in a position to fathom the ideas of these two Powers. The only nation the Moors believe to be disinterested is England. I know that by this simple assertion I cannot convince foreigners of our disinterested motives, but I assert it all the same

without any fear of contradiction from those who study the question with unbiassed mind. We never have entertained any designs on Morocco in any shape or form ; we desire to see it prosper under a reformed Moorish Government, and to see the country opened up to all nations on the same footing as ourselves.

The writer of these pages is in a position to know that this was so. Was not Cape Juby handed over to Morocco in order to avoid any conflict, by showing that we did not wish any portion of territory on the borders of that country ? That was a sacrifice that, I venture to say, no other foreign Government would have made, and for a mere paltry sum of money. On these grounds it was a little unfortunate that the regeneration of Morocco should have fallen into the hands of two nations who entertain identical pretensions regarding that country. The Moors, being fully aware of their designs, look upon their every act with suspicion and distrust. Suspicion would in a measure frustrate the efforts of even disinterested persons. How much more difficult it would be for those who had not even made any secret of their views ! I am quite well aware that the Powers could hardly do anything else than entrust the great task of improving the internal state of affairs in Morocco to France and Spain. They were near neighbours, and they had a certain interest in that country. It was particularly unfortunate that these two nations did not study the position more carefully before entering upon their task. They knew that the Moors looked upon them with suspicion, and that they were naturally hostile to any act that might tend to interfere with their independence. They ought, therefore, to have gone very cautiously to work with a view to gain the confidence of the Moors by giving them assurances they could believe that they had no designs on the independence of the country ; instead of this they proceeded with a high



TARGIVE GATE, TETUAN.



Photo by Miss Paul.

THE MARKET AT TETUAN.

hand and introduced innovations worthless in themselves to Europeans or natives, but sufficient to arouse the suspicions of the Moors.

A small war followed, which would never have occurred if more judicious care had been employed at the outset. Then the Melilla war came on about the same time, which further complicated matters, and the country itself was passing through a civil war. These untoward events have given a set-back to the work of the Commission. The confidence of the Moors is difficult to gain, and is easily lost. The French have, as the outcome of their conflict with the Moors, kept hold of Casablanca. They have, in consequence, established some better order there than is to be found in any other town either on the coast or in the interior. The prisons and prisoners seem to be better looked after, and the drink-shops, which seem unfortunately to follow in the wake of European civilisation, are under fairly strict regulations. It would be more satisfactory if they were closed altogether, and the grievous part is that the drink is sold to the natives without any restrictions from the consular body.

The British Consul at Casablanca reports that drinking is on the increase amongst the native population, which is a very serious matter to us as a great civilising Power. It seems to me it should be prohibited altogether. The Moors are a sober race; to drink spirits of any kind is against their religion. It is very sad that we should bring to them the worst vice from our land, which must lower us in their eyes. I hope that public men in this and other countries will take this matter up and stop it before it gains a hold on the poor defenceless people of Morocco, who, if it continues, will have reason to deplore this hateful branch of European civilisation. We ought to defend them against this iniquity by every possible means in our power. How difficult a matter like this must render missionary work in their

midst! The simple natives must very naturally look upon us as a lot of hypocrites, who do not act up to our profession.

So far as can be gathered there is not much result to show from the working of the Commission established by the Algeciras Act, except that they have begun to make the English residents and owners of property feel that the Commission has not forgotten to impose taxes on them for payment of improvements which have not yet begun. No doubt their work has been retarded by the unfortunate events which I have already related. Harbour works for Casablanca and other ports are now under consideration, and roads are proposed to be made, and let us hope that highways will be made into the interior of the country.

I am of opinion that if the Commission had at the outset started improvements such as the Moors could understand no difficulty would have arisen and bloodshed would have been avoided; and, more than that, the work of reform would have prospered. Many of the rivers of Morocco have no bridges; they have to be waded across where practicable, but at considerable risks to human life, and others, when they are too deep, have to be crossed by boats. What a boon bridges would prove to the natives! and they would appreciate such a blessing. Well-made roads would also prove to them of the greatest advantage, enabling them to carry their goods from the distant parts of the empire to the port towns with much greater ease, safety, and comfort than at present. I have always thought that another great improvement would be the establishment of safe shelters or caravansaries for the convenience of travellers at various points of the roads. This simple reform would also be welcome, and the natives would not be slow in understanding it. No attempt should at the beginning be made to introduce anything that the Moors cannot understand. One has need, in

dealing with these people, to have a large stock of patience and prudence, and above all honesty of purpose.

It seems to me that it was a mistake that the Algenciras Conference did not decide that the reform of the Moorish administration should have proceeded from the Sultan himself. Less hostility would have been shown by the native population; whereas the Conference having decided that the reforms should be placed in the hands of two nations, caused friction and misunderstanding. I do not mean that reforms should be left in the hands of the Sultan and his ministers without the controlling influence of the Powers. The Moors are quite capable of carrying out reforms if they are made to do it, and made to understand that all the Powers are united in the matter. All the Powers had to do was to appoint a capable and prudent adviser at the Sultan's Court as their representative. He would naturally have a staff of officers who would take in hand the organisation of a police force, that force to be selected from the Berbers, who are most reliable in every sense of the word. If trained and fairly and regularly paid they would act most loyally in the discharge of their duties. Of this I am quite confident, from personal knowledge. Their religion would not sway them from doing their duty. The adviser should be appointed by the Powers and under the united control of the foreign ministers at Tangier, to whom he would make periodical reports of the progress of the work.

I am aware that the Powers did frame at the Algenciras Conference something similar to this, but the weak part of it is that the control was practically left in the hands of two Powers which could not be agreeable to the Sultan or his people from various causes which I have already explained. The Powers had met the difficulty, so far, by appointing an Inspector-General from the Swiss Federal Government, with the modest salary of £1,000 a year and £240

for the expenses of his tours of inspection, but this officer had no real power ; his duty is only to inspect and report, which does not amount to very much. I can quite understand the difficulties that stood in the way of pleasing all parties and safe-guarding every interest. The only thing that now remains is to see that the labours of the Conference shall not be thrown away, and that the Algeciras Act shall be made effective in improving the condition of the Moors. Let France and Spain cast their mutual pretensions and jealousies aside for the sake of suffering humanity. France is especially a civilising force in the world, and what could be for her a nobler mission than to hold out a helping hand to an old empire which at one time extended its borders into France itself ; to help to raise her now from the depths of degradation and barbarity into which she has sunk and to enable her to take once more her stand amongst the nations of the world as a regenerated, happy, prosperous, and independent state ? This would indeed be a monument of glory far surpassing any that could be gained on the battle-field.

Let me at the same time appeal to what is best and noblest in Spain. Let her also cast aside any selfish motives she may entertain, and join heartily in the work of improving the condition of the Moors. Sordid motives have blasted individual effort in the past, as well as the efforts of nations, and I think all the circumstances surrounding the Morocco question demand that the jealousy, suspicion, and selfish motives which have brooded over Morocco for so many years should be laid aside. Good government for the Moors should dominate all the actions, and all the efforts of the Commission. If they go forward in this spirit the Moors will respond and help to raise themselves and their country to a condition of prosperity and happiness which will benefit all the nations of Europe, and crown with glory and honour all those who take part in the great work of civilisation.

CHAPTER XXII

CONCLUSION

I HAVE now brought the various questions relating to Morocco to a close, and it only remains for me, in this chapter, to recapitulate some of the points which to my mind require special attention from the people of this country. We have important interests in Morocco which I hope will never be overlooked by England. I may say that we have a threefold duty to perform. The first is to prevent by every means in our power the annexation of Morocco by any other nation, however benevolent it may seem, or permit that any one Power should gain a controlling hand over Morocco. If we allow these things to happen we may hand Gibraltar back to Spain and clear out of that part of the Mediterranean, for our position there would be isolated and practically untenable. An independent Morocco is of paramount importance to us, and ought to be upheld by all the forces at our command.

The next important point for us is our commerce. We cannot afford, as a free trading country, to be driven out of the Morocco market, and this is sure to take place if France can obtain the upper hand in that country. The fiscal policy of France would be extended to Morocco, and our merchants would be obliged to shut up their stores and leave it to the French traders. Germany stood up for the open door, and we must take care that it is not closed.

The third point is that we have always prided ourselves, and justly so, on our civilisation, and been

anxious that its blessings should flow out to other nations less favoured than ourselves ; we have always endeavoured to protect the weak against the encroachments of the strong. We have undoubtedly extended these blessings to many distant races on the face of the earth.

Now Morocco forms a very dark spot on the map of Africa near our own doors. A few hours can take any of our officers at Gibraltar to that country. Surely we have obligations towards the inhabitants of Morocco that we cannot shirk or pass over to others. The Moors, with all their faults, have been our friends from ancient times, and they have looked to us for protection in the hour of their need, and I do not see that we can forsake them under any pretext. I do not mean by this that we should encourage them in continuing in their present condition ; such a thing is out of the question. We should use every means in our power to reform them and improve the administration of the country. Much has been written and talked about regarding the *entente cordiale*. This in theory and practice is admirable so long as one party to the idea does not pay too dearly for the sentiment only. The French are a charming people, with whom one would wish to be always on terms of amity ; but unfortunately this is a selfish age, and we must look carefully to see that we do not pay too much for a friendship that has no binding nature.

With regard to the friendship over Morocco, we should have paid too much for it if it had not been that Germany came in and prevented us, for her own purposes, from carrying out a bargain that would have proved disastrous to our position in that part of the world. Some may say that one great advantage we gained by the Anglo-French Agreement was a free hand in Egypt. I shall only discuss that question with a view to illustrate our position in Morocco. I think it will then be seen

that we have gained nothing. When we first went to Egypt we asked France to join us. She declined, for reasons best known to herself. We went in alone and put down revolt which, if it had succeeded, would have proved as disastrous to French interests as to ours.

The whole administration in Egypt was in a state of disorder. The native population, or fallaheen, were practically in a state of abject slavery, ground down and degraded by their hard taskmasters, the Egyptian Government. Securities, a great portion of which were held by France, were practically worthless. Trade was disturbed and the forces of the Mahdi were within the borders of Egypt itself; he dominated the whole of the Soudan. This was a state of affairs that could hardly be satisfactory to France herself. The security of the highway to the east was threatened, which was of importance to all nations. We undertook in Egypt a thankless task when we went there to endeavour to bring order out of chaos. We encountered many difficulties, as well as pin-pricks. We were fortunate in having on the spot Lord Cromer, one of the greatest administrators of modern times. After many years of hard work, in the midst of many anxieties and perplexities, we succeeded in raising Egypt from a state of financial bankruptcy to a condition of prosperity far beyond anything that country has ever yet experienced in its history.

The fellaheen have been treated as human beings, and made happy and contented on their own little holdings. They can now till their ground in quiet security and with the knowledge that its rich produce is theirs without fear of being robbed by a corrupt Government. The borders of Egypt have been extended from the mouth of the Nile to the far-off Soudan. The power of the Mahdi has been completely shattered, and the horde of slave-dealers which followed in his wake has long since disappeared and has given place to peaceful and prosperous

inhabitants. Any one can now travel from Egypt to Khartoum, where General Gordon met his tragic death, with as much security as one can go from London to Manchester. Public securities, which were worthless, are now as valuable as those of any other State. Great reservoirs have been made for storing the water which is so essential in irrigating the land of Egypt. These mighty engineering achievements will stand as a monument for all time of England's greatness.

All this work which we have accomplished in Egypt required much patience, tact, and good judgment. Who has benefited by this great change in the affairs of Egypt? Has not the whole commercial world? All have been admitted on perfect equality with ourselves. France has benefited perhaps more than any other nation; yet she was a sort of clog on the wheels of progress in Egypt.

I think if the question had been put by the British Government to the whole population of France, "Shall we leave Egypt?" the answer would have been decidedly "No"; and more than that, I think if we had really decided to go the French would have been the first to beg us to remain. The official view of France was quite different from that of the people. We have always upheld the open door in Egypt, but supposing for a moment that any other Power had stepped in, what would have happened? I venture to say that there would be no longer the open door in that country, and Egypt itself could not possibly prosper under such a system. I think it is quite clear, from what I have briefly stated, that our stay in Egypt has been a great blessing to the population of that country, and also to the whole world, and France in particular.

What, then, have we gained by the Anglo-French Agreement in return for handing over Morocco to France? Nothing; only the consent of France that we should have a free hand in Egypt—a power which

we already possessed by virtue, if by nothing else, of what we had done for that country at great expense to ourselves for the benefit of the whole world. The Anglo-French Agreement, as far as Morocco is concerned, was anything but fair to ourselves. We handed over the control of that country to France without any return ; and not only that, but by that transaction we imperilled our own position in the Mediterranean.

I am only pointing out what a short-sighted policy we pursued in giving up Morocco ; but now, as good fortune would have it, Germany, with a clearer view of the position, came in and upset this pretty one-sided agreement and insisted on ample security being given that Morocco should not fall into the hands of France, whose commercial policy would not suit Germany. This brought about, as I have already stated, the Algeiras Conference, and the reforms for Morocco were handed over to an International Commission in which Germany would have some say. This unexpected act saved, so far, the situation for us, but although that Conference places our interests on a somewhat surer foundation, the position requires continual watchfulness on our part. Our merchants and their interests must be protected against all comers, without regard to the *entente cordiale*, and this can only be done by upholding the integrity of Morocco, and using all endeavours to promote the reform of the internal administration of the country so as to strengthen its own position.

I have already pointed out one great reform which is particularly essential to promote this desirable object, that is the establishment of Mixed Courts in Morocco, and the final abolition of that consular protection which has relieved for many years a large and wealthy class from the burden of taxation—a system which was particularly unjust to the Sultan and his Government, and cannot be justified on any possible plea. It will be seen, from another chapter,

that I have written to Sir Edward Grey, asking him to do two things: to make inquiries into the deplorable condition of nearly all the prisons and prisoners of the Moorish Empire, and in the name of common humanity, with a view to improve this state of things, to approach the principal European Powers to take united steps for the establishment of Mixed Courts in Morocco. The Sultan could offer no opposition to such a scheme, especially when by its establishment his own subjects would be restored to him and made to pay taxation; but the taxation would not be paid to a rotten and corrupt Government. The establishment of Mixed Courts would give a guarantee that equal justice would be meted out to all, whether they be foreigners or natives.

Sir E. Grey gave, to my mind, a somewhat unsatisfactory reply to my letters and that of the Howard Association who approached him on the same subject. The only point that seemed gratifying was that he stated that he was in communication with the British minister at Tangier relative to the prisons in Morocco. Regarding the suggestion of the Mixed Courts he took up a very strange position, and, I venture to say, a very unsatisfactory one. He said, "that his Majesty's Government are not in a position to reform the internal administration of Morocco outside the scope of treaty rights." In that case he should refuse even to inquire into the state of Moorish prisons, or slavery, or any other iniquity. We have no power under any treaty to interfere in the internal affairs of Morocco, but we have always up to now exercised the right, as a civilised Power, to inquire into and endeavour to remove any hardship or glaring acts of barbarity which may take place in an uncivilised country, and we have not hesitated to interfere in cases of gross cruelty which have taken place in fairly civilised nations.

Surely the time-honoured policy of England,

which has hitherto done such mighty work all over the world, is not going to cease in this century and give place to indifference and callousness. It seems somewhat strange that, while nearly all the recommendations I had urged from time to time, both at public meetings and in pamphlets, should have been adopted by the Algeciras Conference, the most important—that is, the establishment of Mixed Courts—should have been left untouched. I cannot conceive the reason that prevented the Powers from adopting this reform, which was of paramount importance to the well-being of Morocco. Under such a system as this the Moors could obtain justice from a tribunal which would not show fear or favour to any one, and would be free from the corruption which saps at the present time every branch of the public service in Morocco. Although the question of Mixed Courts does not form part of the Algeciras Act, there is no reason why it should not be raised and placed before the Powers with a view to its adoption as the only remedy for the terrible state of affairs which now prevails. The principal European residents are in favour of this reform, and consider it the only method by which the internal administration of Morocco can be improved.

It is nothing less than a disgrace to us and to the civilisation of the present age that we should permit the Moorish Government to carry on a system of oppression and cruelty which has been condemned by every right-minded person who has visited that country. The poor natives are cast into loathsome dungeons, without proper food or air, on false claims made by Europeans, or those who enjoy their protection, there to remain without redress from any quarter. Not only that, but they are made the victims of the most terrible cruelties that men's savage natures can invent. In looking at some of the poor emaciated and heavily fettered creatures one can see in those filthy dungeons, one would

naturally imagine that they were surely murderers or had been guilty of some terrible crime ; but such is not the case. Most of these famished creatures are innocent, and will remain in these prisons until they are removed by the merciful hand of death. The worst of it all is that these claims obtain the support of foreign ministers, and there is no Court in Morocco at which the poor creatures can obtain redress or help of any kind.

In the face of these facts are we to stand quietly and see these terrible iniquities taking place without a protest ? I cannot believe that Sir E. Grey meant this when he declined to take up the question of the Mixed Courts, the accomplishment of which would put an end to this state of things. I do not see anything to prevent the British Government from approaching other Powers with a view of reforming the administration of Morocco. I do not believe that any Power would oppose this salutary measure, which is undoubtedly in the interest of all concerned, and if no other nation will move in this matter this country should not hesitate in taking it up and pressing it on the attention of other nations.

We have no selfish ends to serve ; we do not want to annex Morocco or exercise the sole controlling influence over it. What we want to see is the carrying out of such reforms as will improve the condition of the Moors and develop the enormous resources of their country which now lie dormant. I have already pointed out that slavery exists in Morocco without any effectual check being placed on it by the authorities. I am pleased to remark, in this place, that England brought up the question of the abolition of slavery at the close of the Algeciras Conference. The following is the declaration presented by Sir Arthur Nicolson, the British delegate :

“ I venture to suggest to the Conference that the honourable delegates should express the hope that his Shereefian Majesty may be pleased to take into

consideration the question of slavery in his empire, and adopt such measures as his Majesty may see opportune with a view to the limitation and gradual abolition of the system of slavery, and above all the prohibition of the public sale of slaves in the cities of his empire. I would at the same time beg the Conference to express the hope that his Shereefian Majesty may be pleased to continue to enforce the measures taken some years ago in order to remedy the formerly existing defects in the administration of the Moorish prisons."

M. Révoil, the French delegate plenipotentiary, in associating himself in the strongest manner with Sir A. Nicolson's resolution, showed how the action of France in the provinces of the Sahara and the Soudan had already contributed to hamper the working of the system of slavery in Morocco.

The resolution, which received the warm support of the Italian delegate, was passed unanimously.

The Moorish representatives demurred to the resolution. This would be expected, as they were the delegates of a slave-holding country.

The resolution was afterwards presented to the Moorish Foreign Minister at Fez. This was a step in the right direction, but unfortunately the resolution has not, so far, put a stop to slavery or slave-trading in Morocco.

We have never attempted to negotiate a treaty with the Sultan of Morocco for the abolition of slavery, although we have done so with Turkey and other Mohammedan countries. No effectual stop can be put to this traffic in Morocco without a definite treaty for its abolition. This matter should be pressed on the attention of the Sultan by our Government. Resolutions may prove a stepping-stone to total abolition, but by itself it will not effect much.

The Foreign Office has from time to time used its good offices in Morocco against slave-trading. It seems very strange that when Europeans reside in

that country for a time they seem to get quite indifferent to the whole thing, simply pointing out that the slaves are well treated. They do not take the trouble to consider what a crime slavery is against the human race, and how revolting it is that human beings should be kept in bondage, treated as the goods and chattels of their master, who can dispose of them as he wills. How would a European like being held in slavery? Let the pro-slavery party, or those who are indifferent, ask themselves that question. More than that, we have to think of the thousands of human creatures who are annually sacrificed in the slave-trading raids that take place in the interior of Africa for the supply of the Moorish slave-markets, and also the number that die on their journey.

There is one question which I think the British Government should take up without delay, that is a thorough examination of the conditions of the Moorish prisons and prisoners in conjunction with other Powers. The latest Foreign Office Report, which appears in a former chapter of this book through the courtesy of Sir E. Grey, is principally made up of hearsay evidence, which is not always reliable. The Powers having instituted the Algeciras Conference, surely it is their duty to appoint their own Commission to inspect and report on every prison in the Moorish Empire, with a view to obtain an accurate account of the state of affairs. Such an investigation would help forward the work of reform, and would bring the Sultan and his ministers to a sense of their responsibility to their own people and civilised Europe.

Mr. Henry Gurney, who is a member of the Committees of the anti-Slavery Society and the Howard Association, is practically the only gentleman visiting Morocco who takes any kind of interest in this and other questions for the improvement of that country. The work he has done in carrying on the Moorish

Room has proved of the greatest advantage to the Moors generally, and deserves the support and sympathy of those who have the well-being of their fellow-creatures at heart. We want to see the British people intelligently concerned in these questions. If the situation is only brought home to them they will, I feel sure, demand that our Government shall take more active steps in the affairs of Morocco, and urge the other Powers to help in reforming the Moorish administration.

I look forward with considerable hope to the Berber population of Morocco to take up, in time, a commanding position in the affairs of their country. They are warlike, brave, industrious, lovers of independence, and naturally intelligent. They may, in time to come, become the moving spirits in the development of regenerated Morocco.

We as a nation must try and help them and the other inhabitants in the noble work of improving their condition and making them a happy, independent, and prosperous people, and thus raising the Khalifate of the West to the position which it once held as a civilised State.

APPENDIX A

THE WAD NOON AND TEKNA, ON THE NORTH-WEST COAST OF AFRICA

BY JOACHIM GATELL (TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH "BULL.
SOC. GÉO." PARIS, 1869)

PART I

LIMITS AND GENERAL ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY

THE limits of the Wad Noon are as follows: to the north, a portion of the Sus country; to the south, the district of Azouafit belonging to the territory of Tekna; to the east, the Taïrt and Sidi Insef Mountains, together with some independent Kabyles occupying the country as far as the Drâa; and to the west, a portion of the territory of Tekna which follows the coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

The Wad Noon is 24 kilometres long and 6 wide, averaging about 144 square kilometres. It is thus, as one may easily see, a very limited country. It is for this reason, and likewise from the fact that the chiefs who have the control of the Wad Noon are the same as those who govern the territory of Tekna, that I shall combine these two countries in one article, under the general name of Wad Noon, unless it may occasionally become necessary for me to distinguish them one from the other.

The limits of Wad Noon have already been noticed; we shall now see what those of the Tekna are.

The territory of Tekna runs along the sea-coast for a distance of 32 myriametres, the width being 4 myriametres. It is separated on the north from the Sous country by the Wad Assaka; and on the south it is limited by the river or large stream named Sagia Elhamra, as well as by the sand of the Sahara, or great desert. The territory of Tekna is divided into two parts; the Azouafit having the same extension as the Wad Noon and the Aït-Jemel by the sea-side, where the greater number of Kabyles are to be found. Towards the interior of the country, viz. to the south-east, the territory of Tekna confines with some independent Kabyles, who live between the sandy hills on the

borders of the Sahara and on the mountains south of Azouafit. I intend to refer later on to these Kabyles. The natives give the name of Sahel (plains) to the portion of Tekna which is in proximity to the sea, so as to distinguish it from the hilly land called Tell, which lies in the direction of the Drâa.

The territory belonging properly to the Wad Noon is almost entirely level, presenting merely a few hills here and there; excepting, nevertheless, a portion of the mountain called Tam-souk, which is situated towards the west, its extension not being very great.

The territory of Azouafit is equally level, with the exception of that part where the mountain which I have mentioned is situated, and which forms part of it.

The aspect of the remaining territory of Tekna, viz. the Aït-Jemel, varies a great deal. It is generally mountainous in its northern part, from the Wad-Assaka as far as the Wad Drâa; thence begin great plains following the sea-coast, some high levels and mountains extending a few kilometres from the coast to the distance of 10 myriametres from the Wad Drâa. After these mountains, plains, and levels come the sandy lands, sometimes flat and sometimes in the shape of hills, with a few trees here and there, with salt-pits, and a soil not only sterile but abounding with stones. It may be said that it is at the Wad-Drâa that the Great Desert begins.

The plains, levels, mountains, and sands which I have mentioned, from the Wad Drâa and in the direction of the meridian, are known by the following names. The plains are: the Elonatia (where some shrubs and a cactus called *dagmouz* are to be found); the Anabedouz (*dagmouz*, shrubs, stones, and sand); the Dora (sand and stones). The levels are: the Hammedia-Tellia (*dagmouz* and shrubs); the Larkaya (a sandy soil); the Assatef (sandy soil). The mountains are: the Tessegdelt (stones and shrubs); the Larrigat (shrubs); the Kada (shrubs and sand); the Agaïoun (shrubs and sand). The lands, sometimes level and sometimes hilly, which only present sand, are called Aboudilat and Drona. The action of the wind causes these sands continually to change, although but slowly, their position and form.

The rivers and watercourses which traverse the territory of Wad Noon are the Assaka, on the boundary lines of the Sous (12 metres medium), which empties its waters into the ocean; the Siad, having a depth of 5 metres, but not much water, which runs into the Assaka; the Quargueunoun spring and stream of water, which comes from the mountains south of Azouafit, and runs into the Siad; the Om-Elachaer (8 metres), a spring of soft water, passes through Auguilmin, the capital of the Wad Noon and runs into the Siad; the Assif-Anazeron, a dry ravine (3 metres), running in the direction of the Siad; the Asserassar

(6 metres), of soft water, and an affluent of the Siad ; the Kharona (3 metres), with a small body of water, an affluent of the Assaka ; the Boudiat (6 metres), soft water, an affluent of the Mekla Sfi ; the Ebbeylal (3 metres), a spring running into the Om-Elachaer ; the Aman-ou-Achan, a spring coming from the rocks, opened in ancient times by Christians, according to traditions of the country, an affluent of the Assif-Onazerou.

Nearly all such streams of water come from the mountains at the east and the south-east. There are still some ravines, of no great importance, named Biad and Saïbissa, which run as far as the Assaka. About some 23 kilometres from Auguilmin runs another river of soft water, named Bouissefen, which comes from the mountains of Tamsouk, and which, increasing progressively, empties its waters into the ocean. The Wad Noon, properly so called, does not present any other streams of water besides those which I have mentioned, excepting some springs of trifling importance.

On referring to the coast, I shall mention the rivers which traverse the territory of Tekna, and which run in the direction of the Atlantic Ocean.

RESOURCES AND NATURAL PRODUCTS

The territory of Wad Noon is on the whole poor. On the north side, however, some good productive soil is to be found. Cereals, chiefly barley, constitute the principal, if not the only, production of the country. Vegetables are scarcely known there ; some vegetables may be found, principally some large and good turnips. I am informed that the culture of the potato was tried, but without success. The fruits consist of figs, dates, grapes, pomegranates, and some others hardly worthy of mention. Tobacco is likewise cultivated, but is of an inferior quality.

The *arganier*, the kind of olive-tree which is so common in the Sus, is not to be found there ; in the whole country I think I never met with a paltry hundred of them.

The honey from the dagmouz would be a source of real wealth to the inhabitants of the country, if in the lands where it abounds, the bees did not suffer from such a scarcity of water. On the other side of the Wad Drâa a great quantity of the said plant exists ; all the plains and plateaux above mentioned are covered with it, but no profit is derived from it for the reason which I have given. The dagmouz is called *tikiout* in the Chelkha language. It is a sort of cactus ; the stems, which much resemble those of the *Serpentaria* of our gardens, grow short and thick, taking the shape of a sphere. The juice very much resembles milk, and one drop of it taken will burn the mouth dreadfully. The flower of the dagmouz is red, and the honey which it pro-

duces is not so sweet as the common honey ; it seems, however, that it causes no harm to the teeth. The natives use it a great deal, mixing it up with butter

In the whole territory of Tekna, from Assaka as far as Sagia Elhamra, nothing is to be seen but thorns (*cedra*) and other shrubs, dagmouz, and sand. Not a single tree is to be found. I only came across one small palm-tree, which was about 30 centimetres in height. Notwithstanding, from Assaka to Wad Drâa, and even beyond that, some cereals are cultivated, and in the rainy season the fields are to be seen all green.

As I have said before, it is at the Wad Drâa that the desert commences. The chief resources of the natives, however, principally among those belonging to the territory of Ait-Jemel, consist of their camels as well as their herds of sheep and goats. In Wad Noon and Azouafit cows are to be found ; not so in the remaining part of the country, however, owing to the want of water. The Arabs of Ait-Jemel live only upon the resources of their flocks or herds.

According to the data which I have been able to obtain, the Kabyles possess on the whole some 7,700 *khaimas*, or tents. Allowing, at a calculation which seems reasonable, 60 head of sheep or goats to each tent, and three camels to every two tents, it will be seen that the territory of Tekna contains 462,000 head of small cattle, and 11,550 camels.

The wealth of the country, as far as minerals are concerned, is not so important as that of the Sus. Nevertheless, in the mountains of Sidi-Insef, near Augulmin, as well as in those which confine south with the territory of Azouafit, silver is to be found. On the borders of the river Bouissefen, close to its mouth, I saw iron ore in great quantity. At a distance of 500 metres there is a mound where copper ore abounds, and I was informed that some years ago a certain Jew worked the said metal in a foundry of his own.

I was also told that on the coasts of the Tekna every year some 40 or 50 lbs. of amber are to be gathered in the proper season ; I consider, however, such a figure much exaggerated.

I must likewise mention the salt-pits, so abundant in the territory of Tekna, as well as the leeches which I heard were very abundant in the country, although I had no opportunity of seeing them anywhere. In the Wad Noon wild animals are very scarce ; the jackal is occasionally to be seen when descending from the mountains where it lives. Besides the jackal, stags and boars are to be found on the plains of Tekna in abundance. I likewise had occasion to notice the footprints of the lion in the sand. As to birds, there are only ducks and water-fowl, some crows, and a large bird, the meat of which is most delicious, called the *khabar*.

CLIMATE AND POPULATION

In the Wad Noon, and, moreover, in the Tekna, the temperature is very high, but this is only natural in the latitude under which such countries lie. During the winter season the temperature is moderate. At Augulmin, on December 24 and 25, 1864, the thermometer of Fahrenheit, at seven o'clock a.m., with fine weather, marked 61°. On the 29th, at the same hour, it marked 42°, on the 31st, 50°; on January 5, 1865, it indicated 53°; on the 14th it marked 62°; on the 16th, 54°, on February 3, at 10 a.m., it showed 64°; on the 4th, at 7 a.m., inside a room it marked 72°, and in the sun 118°. On the 12th, at 7 a.m., under a cloudy sky, it showed 66°; on March 5, at 2 p.m., in the sun, it went as high as 106°.

In short, during the winter season the thermometer of Fahrenheit at 7 a.m. did not go lower than 42°, equal to 4.9 Réaumur. This means that a medium temperature of 66° Fahrenheit, or 15°1.9 Réaumur, generally prevails there. During the summer the heat is extraordinary.

In the course of the winter, 1864-5, in the Wad Noon or Tekna, rain fell during the night of December 23 to the 24th; on January 18 during the whole day and night until daybreak of the 19th; it rained on the 28th and 29th of the same month, accompanied by a strong north-east wind; on February 13 to the 16th, with a west wind; on the 19th of the same month with a strong wind from the south-west; and on the 22nd there was not only rain but a thunderstorm. The wind generally prevailing blew from the north-east.

The air of the Wad Noon is healthy. The most prevalent diseases consist of skin-disease, the itch, eye affections, and rheumatism.

As regards the population, I shall only mention some data summarily. Were you to ask the natives the number of the inhabitants of the country, they would certainly raise the figure to some millions in consequence of their tendency to exaggerate and of their absolute ignorance of anything concerning figures or statistics. In the Wad Noon proper, so to speak, and in the Azouafit, there are something like 100 houses, and the number of *khaimas*, or tents, which exist among the Kabyles reaches as many as 7,700, including in this number 1,600 tents belonging to the independent Kabyles, who occupy the boundaries of Tekna. Allowing five persons for each house and each tent, we arrive at the figure of 44,000 souls.

All the inhabitants of the Wad Noon and Tekna are of Arabic origin; but in Wad Noon there are many persons who speak the Chelkha language, owing to their being neighbours of the Sous, where the said language is spoken.

CENTRES OF POPULATION

The most important locality of the Wad Noon is Augulmin, also called Goulimin. It is situated almost at the eastern extremity of a great plain surrounded by mountains, in which all the territory named Wad Noon is comprised.

The land upon which the city is built is pretty flat; nevertheless, on the east it presents a certain elevation or hill, on which is built part of the city. The latter is divided into three parts: each of them has its particular name. The first of them is the Agader, being situated on the elevation which I have mentioned. The second is the Kasbah, where nearly all the chieftains of the country reside, this one being situated to the west of Agader. Finally, the third is Alkassar, where the larger part of the inhabitants reside.

The city is here and there surrounded by a weak wall, but the buildings form the boundaries or limits thereof on every side.

It has five different small gates, the names of which are as follows, as you go out by the north side, between the Agader and the Kasbah and turning to the left: Bab Agader, Bab-el-Kasbah, Bab-Agolt (in ruins), Bab-Mahommed, or Brahim, and Bab-el-Jema. The first is situated at the foot of the Agader, the second at Kasbah, and the remainder at Alkassar. There are, besides, some other private gates.

The part of the city named Agader is surrounded by a wall of *torchis* (a mixture of clay and straw), having a height of 4 metres and a thickness of 40 centimetres, with three towers and small forts looking towards the north, and two of them towards the south. I ought to mention, in passing, that Agader, in the Chelkha language, means a place surrounded by a wall, or a fortified place. In the middle of Agader stands a house partly in ruins, where one of the chiefs of the country resides. Westward is to be seen a whitewashed tower of *torchis*, 10 metres high, and from the summit of which one can easily see a view of the whole of the city and a great portion of the country. On the same elevation where Agader stands, and towards the south-east, a mosque and some private houses are to be seen.

The Kasbah is formed of a group of large houses, some new and some old, and some towers; as I said, they serve as residences for some of the territorial chieftains. Between Agader and the Kasbah there are some houses and courts, where some families sheltered by *kharwas*, or tents, reside. Towards the north side of the Kasbah some other houses and courts have been lately built, to which the name of Kasbah Jedida (New Kasbah) has been given.

It has been said that it is at Alkassar that the main part of the inhabitants of Augulmin reside.

Towards the north of this portion of the city the general abode of the Jewish community will be found, consisting of a single street with one gate only, which is shut during the night-time. The number of Jews may be reckoned at 100; they have two synagogues for the purpose of their prayers, as well as for the education of their children.

Auguilmin contains nearly 600 houses, and something beyond 3,000 souls. The houses, as a rule, are built up of torchis. There are, nevertheless, some built of stone and whitewashed. They are of modern construction, the greater part of them, and very few are to be seen falling into decay, as happens in other cities. The city comprises three mosques, without minarets and without any luxury or ostentation; one at Agader, another at Kasbah, and the third at Alkassar. The people, however, are in the habit of assembling for their prayers in the middle of the square or market of Souk, on a spot suitable for the purpose. There is no private sanctuary.

The market-place is situated in the middle of the city, close to the abode of the Jews. Some stone barracks are to be seen there, which are used on market-day, which generally takes place on Sunday, as warehouses or shops. The said market is much frequented, not only by the residents of the country, but also by the Kabyles of Ait-bo-Amram in the Sous.

Auguilmin is well provided with water; an aqueduct coming from the east side crosses the city, and there is another spring of water coming from the very interior of one of the houses of the Kasbah. In addition, the river Om-elacher passes close to the city on the west side, bringing very good water from some springs situated not far off.

There are four schools for children, one prison, and three cemeteries, one for the Arabs, one for the black population, and one for the Jews.

The suburbs of Auguilmin would be agreeable if it were not for the want of trees. Some palm-trees only, planted near to or in the city itself, improve it a little. In the neighbourhood some orchards are to be found, with a few fig-trees and some fruit of no great value. All the remainder is occupied by cereals and shrubs.

For the superintendence of police matters, and principally to settle any question concerning the Jews, there is what is called a Mocaddem, or a delegate of the authority called Embarek Ould-Hamed. There are, besides, two kadis or magistrates for the purpose of drawing out any sort of contract, or to settle any litigious question.

The other cities, or rather villages, of the Wad Noon are: Tisgounant, with about 100 houses and one *kasbah*, or fort, built on a hill; El-kassabi, composed of 90 houses, and supplied

with water coming from a spring in the neighbourhood ; close to the El-Kassabi there is a *kobba*, or sanctuary, named Sidi-Aly-Omar-Amran ; Aboudah has 40 houses, and a supply of water ; Labian has 7 houses, this village being situated at 23 kilometres from Augulmin, the river Bouissefen has its source near there. Finally, there is Dechri, having one single house, possessing water and a few palm-trees.

Territory of Azouafit comprehends three villages : Tignemert, with 200 houses, trees, orchards, and plenty of water coming from a spring in the neighbouring mountains called Taissa, and situated towards the south. It is there that the sheikh, or chief, of Azouafit resides. Asserir has 80 houses, water, orchards, palm and other trees. Lastly, Quaroun, which is situated on a small, isolated hill, and has 100 houses. It is abundantly provided with water, and contains orchards and some trees. Tignemert and Asserir are situated toward the south of Augulmin ; the other villages are towards the west.

There is no other village in the remaining territory of Tekna, which is known under the name of Ait-Jemel.

I should state also that in the plain occupied by the above-mentioned villages, and towards the mountains of Ait-Bo-Amran, three villages are to be met with belonging to the Sous : Tilonint, with 150 houses, and some trees ; other houses are in ruins, which were knocked down during a struggle between its inhabitants and those of Augulmin ; Tomb-Agouz, having 13 houses supplied with water ; and finally, Tginssel, with four houses having water and some trees.

At half an hour's ride to the south of Tilonint, close to the place where the Wad Siad runs into the Assaka, some ruins are to be seen which denote the presence of Europeans in those places. Said ruins are seen on the summit of a *mamelon*, or isolated hill, of a conical form, and with steep sides. They give it the name of Agouidır—that is to say, Little Aguader, or Agader-Nouna, or simply Nouna, as being the name adopted from a Sultana Rumia, a sultana, queen, Roman Amazon, or Christian, who in ancient times became the sovereign of a part of that territory. Such is the etymology of the name of Wad Noon. This is the reason why, in some geographical maps, one sees a city called Noon, described as being the capital of the territory, while now the real capital is Augulmin. Noon only exists in ruins.

Many tales and romances are current about the Queen Nouna and a Sultan of the black race who reigned at that time, and had a Court attached to them at Al-Kassabi, as it would appear.

Close to the *mamelon* of Nouna is a spring of good water, which runs towards the Siad. The ancient conquerors of the country built an aqueduct there for the purpose of conveying

the water to Agader-Nouna, some fragments of which are still to be seen. The inhabitants pretend that there exists under the ruins of Nouna some considerable treasure, which nobody has yet had the luck to discover.

COASTS

The Wad Noon, properly so called, is situated, as we know, in the interior of the country, consequently the whole coast to which I have alluded belongs to Ait-Jemel in the territory of Tekna.

This coast, on the whole, is elevated. From the Wad Assaka until close to Bouissefen, for a length of 24 kilometres, it is scarped. This part of it is called Tagnertilt. At the mouth of the Bouissefen, towards the left, there is a beach, rather low, called Boeda; its length is from 12 to 15 kilometres. By digging on this beach to the depth of a metre some soft water of pretty good quality is to be found. From Boeda as far as Wad Drâa the coast is still scarped and bordered by small hills and dunes. It is at this part of the littoral that the river Aoreora runs into the sea.

To the left of the Wad Drâa, and close to its mouth, the sand permits some soft fresh water to permeate it; this spring is called Kassi-Bon-Heidda. The great plain Elonatia, which is 10 to 15 metres above the level of the ocean, begins at Wad Drâa. There exist extensive dunes at the distance of 10 kilometres along the sea-shore. There is also to be found a large cutting, or cave, in the midst of which is a low beach, not very long, called Elgarn. The marabout, of small size, is to be found there, as well as a *motfia*, or reservoir of very good rain-water.

The continuation of the coast is high, and presents cavities named Khaouiah-Elgarn, viz. empty cavities of Elgarn. One of these cavities, called Arraid, is 500 metres in circumference, and communicates with the sea through a passage, or small valley.

At a distance of 10 kilometres from Elgarn, Quina-Seguna (Little Quina), a beach of small extension, is to be found. The coast there forms a tiny cape, on which a miserable marabout may be seen standing.

Five kilometres farther on there is a beach, as well as some rocks which form a sort of port, named Quin by the natives and Meano by the Spaniards from the Canary Islands. This is according to reports made to me in the country.

Five kilometres from Quina the river Saiba-Kharsa is to be found by the side of a beach and some rocks.

Eighteen kilometres from Saiba Kharsa, and towards the southern extremity of a long beach of 900 metres, the river Chebiaka runs into the ocean.

The coast continues to be elevated.

At 30 kilometres from the mouth of the Chebiaka there is a small cape called Akhfeunir; then comes an extensive beach bearing the same name. On this beach the sea is very shallow. I saw a great number of small and large pieces of timber, the vestiges of ships which had been wrecked along the coast. I understand that sea-casualties there are very frequent. Sometimes camels are sent from Wad Noon for the purpose of fetching the debris of any wreck, which is then sold at a high price at Augulmin, as timber of any sort is very scarce in this country. Close to the beach of Akhfeunir there is a *sebkha*, or dry lake, of 400 metres in length and 100 in width.

Between the Chebiaka and the Akhfeunir some rivers, or large streams, are to be met with, such as the Oudeima-Fatina and Zaber, which runs into the sea after having crossed the mountain called Larigat. A short distance from Akhfeunir the sands begin. The first great dune one meets is called Gort-Elahmar.

At a few kilometres from there will be found Argila, which the maps give under the name of Porto Consado, the form, however, of which is very different from the one generally given to it. Argila is an arm of the sea which penetrates direct into the coast to the distance of 1,200 metres. There it describes an angle, or a curve; changing suddenly its direction, it continues parallel with the coast on the opposite side of Akhfeunir for 5,000 metres.

The width of this arm of the sea is 1,000 metres. At its extremity the width increases considerably, and it takes a circular form, the circumference exceeding 600 metres. In the first part it takes the name of Kava. It is said that, during the high tide, any barque can enter it. I had the opportunity of seeing it at low tide, and one could easily ford it then. At the bottom of this species of gulf, and in its neighbourhood, the beach simply shows sand, together with some rocks and shrubs. At an hour's journey to the south-east there is a spring of salt water which comes out from the rocks. I perceived there traces of lions which had frequented the place.

Beyond Argila one crosses large sandy spaces—*abondilat*—and some elevated plateaus—*anabedones*—as far as the beach Cape Juby, which is to be found at a distance of 80 kilometres. Between Argila and Cape Juby there are some large salt-pits producing excellent salt. From the river Chebiaka, as far as Cape Juby, the coast describes a slight convex curve. About 260 metres from the beach of Cape Juby one can see over the ocean some tiny islands or rocks, the largest of which is 220 metres in length, parallel with the coast. At 600 metres from the beach, in the interior of the country, by digging a hole in the sand, one can find water which, however brackish, can be drunk. It is said that the Spaniards called Cape Juby by the

name of La Mata. The country is quite miserable and absolutely destitute of vegetation.

At 12 kilometres beyond there we find Cape Bouibicha, the same that undoubtedly is marked on the maps as Cape Juby. Then the coast recedes, and a few yards farther along Tafaraut is to be found, with some rocks in the middle of a beach; farther on we see the river Sagia-Elhamra, which marks the southern limits of the territory of Tekna. The rivers which run across the territory and discharge their waters into the Atlantic Ocean, continuing from the north, are: the Assaca, which I have already mentioned; the Araeb (3 metres) has not much water, and receives on the left a small affluent named Amonisin; the Bouissefen, of salt water, has but little water; close to the sea it is deep and is 650 metres in width; the water, however, as a rule never exceeds 10 metres.

The *Aoreora* (24 metres) has no water, excepting close to the sea, where the tide operates. This river receives an affluent called the Dagumisa, or rather Saheb-Ronosa; it is tolerably deep and tortuous, and its principal width is 14 metres. In some places there are small quantities of water pouring in from the rocks.

The *Drâa*. The borders of this river have an elevation of 50 metres, and the distance between the two shores varies from 190 to 220 metres; the current of the water, however, occupies a narrower channel, and is of a most changeable nature. The water of the Drâa is salt; but at a distance of 26 kilometres from the sea towards the left bank of the river there is a spring of soft water. The Drâa has but a small current and carries with it a great quantity of seaweed, principally close to the coast.

At three-quarters of an hour's journey from it there is a ford called *Elbrija*, and an hour farther on another called *Boukadra*; a third is called *Chammar*, and is situated about two and a half hours' journey farther on.

Near *Chammar*, and on the right bank of the Drâa, a great ravine presents itself, which bears the name of Toun Ajendal.

On March 2, 1865, it became necessary for me to swim across the *Quad-Drâ* through the *Chammar* ford in consequence of the rainfall which had taken place; the water, however, only reached to my face. The width of the current was 150 metres; generally the width at this spot does not exceed 30 metres, and the water hardly reached to the height of a man's waist. The bottom or bed of this ford is better than that of inferior ones, as it has less seaweed and a considerable quantity of sand.

The *Sarbakharsa* has no water; it is 10 metres in width and is not very deep. The bed is argillaceous in some places. It receives on the right a stream which comes from a place

called Kaoli-Eddiab, which is on a plateau at some distance from the sea.

The *Chebraka*. The bed of this river has an average width of 300 metres, and the width of the current varies from 6 to 14 metres. At 225 metres from the sea the Chpika is tolerably deep. One thousand metres beyond that it turns slightly towards the left. Its water is salt, even at a distance of 2,600 metres from the sea there is a spring of salt water, and there are, almost at the surface of the soil, 25 wells (*khassian*), the water of which is abominable.

The *Ouderma-Fatma* is from 120 to 150 metres in width; it is deep, has no water, and some shrubs grow in its bed.

The *Zaher* is from 100 to 150 metres wide; it is deep, but has no water. The right bank makes a sharp curve at a part where there is nothing but a pure sand of a reddish colour to be met with; the same thing occurs with the left bank, which is full of stones.

The *Sagia-Elhamra* resembles, as far as its width and depth are concerned, the Drâa; its bed, however, as well as its banks, is covered with sand, and it has no water except at a great distance from the sea, such water being then lost in the sands.

Briefly, the rivers or currents of water which are to be found in the Wad Noon, as well as in the Tekna, a description of which I have endeavoured to give, are 24 in number, 10 of which discharge their waters into the ocean.

HABITS AND CHARACTER OF THE INHABITANTS

The habits of the inhabitants of the Wad Noon are very much like those of the inhabitants of the Sus, in consequence of the proximity and neighbouring relationship of the two countries. In Tekna, the habits and customs change; you will find there a population of wandering shepherds who simply live under the shelter of their tents, and who do not remain long in the same spot. Such are the customs of the desert.

All the inhabitants of the Tekna, as well as the greater part of those of the Wad Noon, whether men or women, clothe themselves in a blue cotton tissue called *khout*, from which they make the whole of their dress. Such dress consists, as to the men, in a sort of trousers and what they call a *hark*, or a sort of large vest with which they can cover themselves from head to foot. The women dress in a similar fashion, with the only difference that, instead of trousers, they wear a sort of petticoat. Hardly any one wears a shirt. The women are loaded to excess with necklaces and bracelets made of beads and other ornaments.

The rich ones wear a sort of caftan, or a long wide garment embroidered with silk. The men, as a rule, do not wear any

covering on their heads; they allow their hair, which is black and crisp, to grow at will. They cut their moustaches short with the scissors. This is their custom.

The inhabitants of the Tekna, as a rule, do not eat more than once a day—after sunset. They drink in the morning some milk from the camel, or some sour milk, which they call *leben*. Their common food is generally made of barley-flour mixed with some hot water and a little salt. This kind of paste is put into a sort of wooden dish; in the middle of the paste a small hole is made, which is then filled with oil, *leben*, milk, or some melted fat. They sit around the dish with crossed legs, make small balls of the paste, which they drop into a kind of gravy, and then eat them with avidity. This sort of dish is called *ache*. Camel's-flesh is likewise eaten.

When travelling they feed on nothing but the *farnie* (meal), with a drop of cold water and a pinch of salt. This meal is called by them *azomeia*.

The inhabitants of the Wad Noon, as well as those of the Tekna, are fond of smoking tobacco. Their pipes are short and made from a black wood, excessively hard, called *sangou*, which comes from the Soudan.

One rarely meets a man at Wad Noon or Tekna who is not armed with his two-barrelled gun. Such guns are of French make, according to what I was told, and come from Saint Louis, of Senegal. They are sold very dear in Wad Noon.

The character of the inhabitants of these regions differs somewhat from that of the inhabitants of the Sous. The former have a stronger feeling of independence, and are not so intolerant in religious matters.

I had occasion once among them to declare myself a Christian, but they did not manifest the slightest surprise, notwithstanding that I was clad in a Mussulman costume. Generally speaking, a Christian is not looked upon with ill-feeling or contempt, as so often happens in other countries; he can give himself quietly to any kind of labour without being interfered with, except in very few cases.

It is necessary, however, to study their character and to make oneself familiar with their ideas or habits.

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND COMMERCE

Agriculture in these regions is more backward than among the Sous. Only the inhabitants of the Wad Noon proper, so to speak, those of Azouafit and some Kabyles, neighbours of the Wad Noon, give themselves up to the cultivation of the land. A few leagues from Auguilmin, not far from the river Aoreora, in a place called El-Mtaiaia, I saw a building which was being

used as a warehouse for the cereals of the Kabyle Izarquin ; this building, however, was falling to pieces. I saw another similar place on the left bank of the Drâa, between the second and the third ford. The Kabyle Ait-Saad possesses a great quantity of hives towards the side of the Wad Assaka ; the bees find the necessary water in a *moffia*—a sort of reservoir made for the purpose. Notwithstanding that the chief wealth of the country consists of cattle, no one knows anything whatever as to the manner of breeding them, neither do any of them care to trouble themselves about it.

Industry is to a very great extent abandoned. At Auguilmin there is a Jew trading as a jeweller, there are three carpenters, five blacksmiths, five or six Jew cobblers, and some bricklayers. The women weave their *kharks* and some other woollen articles. At Azouafit some cords and coarse straw mats are made.

As regards commerce, there is a certain amount of animation at the Wad Noon. All the Jews of Auguilmin, and nearly all those who are well off belonging to the city, as well as the principal men of the country parts, are merchants.

The most active commerce is carried on with the Sahara, the Soudan, and Mogador. The principal articles which come from the Sahara and the Soudan are : gum, ostrich feathers, ivory, gold-dust, and slaves. These articles are bartered for cotton tissues, either white or blue, tea, sugar, sundry ornaments, and other articles coming from Europe via Mogador. From the Drâa, the Tonak, and the Tafilet, a great quantity of dates are imported.

The ostrich feathers, on arriving at Auguilmin, pay a transit duty of 5 francs per pound. I may add that the dates are known under different names, which are as follows—beginning with those considered to be the best : Bouz-keri, Bon Toub, Bon-Taggonz, Jehel, Tahaddah, Bon Anout, Bon-Souer, Karkouch, and Abelouh. Sunday is the market-day at Auguilmin ; and at Tignemert, in the territory of Azouafit, it is Thursday of every week ; both these markets are much frequented. A great market or fair (*muggar*) is likewise held every year in the month of July at Auguilmin, which lasts five days ; at Asserir (Azouafit) a similar one is held in the month of August, during three days. Both of them begin on a Wednesday.

The same currency as is used in Morocco is accepted in the Wad Noon at the same value. The measure for lengths is the *kalâ-drâ*, or what the French call *coudée*. The other measures vary at Auguilmin. Oil is measured by *oultimas* ; this measure is divided into four *abar*, equal more or less to four pounds and a half. The measure for any sort of grain (*saa*) is four times larger than the one for oil. Six *saas* of Auguilmin correspond to a *kharroba* of Mogador, and the *kharroba* of Morocco to eight *saas* of Auguilmin.

THE KABYLES

The Kabyles appertaining to the Wad Noon, properly so called, are : Ait-Moussa, Ou-Aly, Ait-Hassan, and Ait-Sâad. A great number of individuals belonging to the two first mentioned reside at Auguilmin, at El-Kassabi, and in some other villages ; they have, besides, 600 *khaimas*, or tents, which are continually shifted about, according to the conveniences of the Kabyles. Ait-Sâad has 150 tents. In the circumscription of Azouafit, in the territory of Tekna, there are : Ait-Hamad, Ait-Teunos, Ait-Brahim, and Ait-Messoud, possessing together about 2,000 tents.

The other Kabyles of Tekna, of the circumscription of Ait-Jemel, are : Izargeen, 400 tents ; Laroussiün, 400 tents ; Oulad-Deim, 100 tents ; Oulad-Idrani, 200 tents ; Tilela, 40 tents ; Argubat, 800 tents ; Ait-Oussa, 600 tents ; Yagot, 400 tents ; Skarna, 80 tents ; Oulad-Bon-Alto, 90 tents ; Oulad-Gandouz, 50 tents ; Ait-Tourkouz, 160 tents ; Taorbalt, 70 tents. This forms a total number of 13 Kabyles, possessing 3,390 tents.

All the above-mentioned Kabyles participate in the influence, more or less direct, of the chieftains of the Wad Noon or of those of the Azouafit.

There are, beside, other independent Kabyles, who travel about, sometimes inside, and sometimes outside, the boundaries of the territory. Such are : Ida-ou-Louggan, Ait-Boukon, Ait-Yassine, Ait-Moussa, Ou-Daoud, Oulad-Boul-Haouilat, Ait-bon-Achera, Ait-Tekei, Ait-Haunorrs, Ait-Mehen, and Oulad-Yahia-Ben-Othman. The total number of the Kabyles of the territory of the Wad Noon and the Tekna is thus increased to 30, with something like 7,700 tents, without reckoning the houses or fixed residences of the Wad Noon of Azouafit.

Somebody informed me that 10,000 men could be put under arms, but I considered such a figure to be exaggerated. If we allow a man for each tent and for each house we shall have a total of 8,800 men, which is very probable, as it is known that there is not a house or a tent where a gun at least does not exist.

I fancy, however, that it would be as well to reduce this figure to a fourth part ; the most reasonable result will be, then, that said territories can put under arms 6,600 men in the presence of any emergency. I believe that the number of houses of the Wad Noon itself, and of the Azouafit, do not exceed 800 ; at Ait-Jemel, and principally on the other side of the Wad Drâa, very few of them are to be seen.

TERRITORIAL CHIEFS

The founder of the present ruling family of Wad Noon was a sheikh, or chief, called Bairook. At his death he left eleven

children, who are still alive, and whose names are as follows : Mohammed, El-Habib, Dahaman, Abideen, Abdallah, Mohammed Chellih, Abd-El-Kader, Faher, Brahim, Hossein, and another of the name of El-Bakkaï.

After the death of Bairook, the right of succession ought to revert, and actually did revert, to Mohammed, as being the eldest son ; and, although he is, as we may say, the first representative of the country, all his brothers exercise more or less a certain authority which allows them to interfere with the questions of the realm ; the people have a certain consideration for them, and they exercise their influence not only over the Wad Noon, but as far as the extremity of the Tekna territory.

The Arabs present themselves indiscriminately before any of the sons of Bairook in order to lay before them any questions concerning themselves, and they abide by any sentence pronounced by the chief, against which there is no appeal whatever. After Mohammed those who have the greatest influence are El-Habib and Dahman.

Mohammed Bairook is now about sixty years old. He has a good presence, his beard being completely grey. His habits are good ; he is benevolent, familiar, but indolent, and without any education ; is destitute of any ideas of progress, or any of those qualities which ought to distinguish a chieftain of a territory. He is a thorough Mussulman, and consequently not a good friend to Christianity. He resides at the *kasbah* of Auguilmin. He has four male children—Aly, Méhédi, Moussa, and Ismael—and four daughters—Selka, Khadidji, Domaha, and another whose name I do not recollect. Should Mohammed die, the chief representative of the country would be El-Habib Bairook, who is fifty-seven years of age. He is dark, with a black beard, but no moustache, and his figure inspires sympathy. He is a man of a peculiar character, fond of conversation, straightforward, and untiring. He is sober, of very simple habits, and does not take too much care of himself. He says that man is composed of worms, and that it is ridiculous to clothe worms with nice garments. He never forgets to say his prayers at proper hours, but he does not fast during the month of Ramadan, as he says that he suffers from an infirmity which will not allow of his remaining a long time without any food. He is engaged in commerce, and seems to take a pleasure in gaining riches. One need not say that he is quite destitute of instruction.

El-Habib has a cousin named El-Bachir-Ben-Brahim, a nice-looking young man, engaged in commerce, and having advanced ideas. In addition, El-Habib has ten male children, their names being : Ahmed, Mohammed-Sallam, Othman, Brahim, Omar, El-Bachir, Aly, Mohammed-Mokhtar, Abd-Allah, Jobeiz ; and seven daughters : El-Eltoum, Om-Elmoumenin, Aziza, Fatima,

Khadidja, Batoul, and Argina. The families of the other brothers are: Dahman, one son and two daughters; Abedine, one daughter; Abd-Allah, one son; Abd-El-Kader, one daughter. The brothers Abd-El-Kader, Thaer, El-Bakkai, and Hassem were born of black women. In the year 1864 Abd-El-Kader undertook a journey to the Soudan for the purpose of some mercantile business.

In the district of Azouafit there is another independent chief called Aly-On-Hamad-On-Sallam, fifty-four years of age. He is of a docile character, but, as happens with the others, he has no education or talent whatever.

PART II

I HAVE here laid down in a few pages the statement of the reasons which led to my voyage to Morocco, as well as the incidents of my stay in that place.

It took place in the year 1861, just when the war between Spain and Morocco had come to an end. The notices then given as to the people of Morocco, their habits, their courage, their barbarism, as well as their fanaticism, acted as an impulse upon me and impressed me with the idea of penetrating into that country, notwithstanding the hazard and risks to which I knew I should be exposing myself. Thus I started in the direction of Fez, in which place the Court was. In order the better to ensure success, I enlisted in the so-called regular army of the Sultan, and, in spite of my not being a very learned person in the art of war, I was, nevertheless, rapidly promoted to the rank of an officer.

It so happened that some Kabyles had revolted in the interior of the country. It was then that the Sultan, Sidi-Mohammed-Ben-Abo-Errahman, resolved upon putting himself at the head of an army, intending to crush the rebellion which was springing up on every side. He thought of making his first attack against the Benni-Hassan, a powerful Kabyle situated between Rabat and Mekenez. The Sultan then conferred upon me the honour of appointing me the chief of the Artillery of his Guard, and so we started for the war. A change of position every day across the great plain occupied by the Benni-Hassan, the destruction of their fields, a shot now and then, a few manœuvres, a brief struggle, some prisoners, and finally the submission and punishment of the rebels—such were the events which then transpired. Once the expedition against the Benni-Hassan was terminated, we directed our arms against the Rahamna. The question now became more serious. An attempt was to be made to free the city of Morocco from the attacks of the aforesaid Kabyle, who for many months past had closely blockaded it. It was, there-

fore, necessary we should make ample preparation. We possessed 29 artillery guns, including a mortar; we carried with us from the magazines of Rabat 55 cwt. of gunpowder in barrels, besides a great quantity of cases of prepared ammunition, and so we started in chase of the revolted tribe. A portion of the Kabyle Seraqua joined the Rahamna. The imperial army marched ahead with a coolness really quite innate in the Moroccan soldiery; it seemed rather as though we were engaged in a military promenade under the burning sun of the country, instead of marching against the enemy. The capital of the empire was in danger, but they were not the people to be alarmed at such a trifle. "We shall get there in due time, and, should we not have time to get there, the will of God be done." "It is not becoming to the majesty of a Sultan of Morocco to show that he is in any hurry whatever, or that he chafes in any way at the course of events."

If the Rahamna had limited themselves to a passive defence, and had been clever enough to avail themselves of some difficult narrow passages we were obliged to traverse, they would have been able to destroy our army, or at least taken from us a good portion of our munitions of war.

We went on advancing. The monotony of our march was only disturbed now and then by some scene of destruction. It was not so much a war against the Rahamna as against the crops of wheat belonging to them; these were at that time completely dry and ready for harvest, and the slightest wind would cause the flames to spread as if it were the charge of a cavalry regiment. One might see the means of existence of hundreds of families disappear in a moment. Such is the way in which war is waged in Morocco. Occasionally our attention would be drawn to the sight of a few of the enemy's heads cut off by some Lemran, or other Kabyle, faithful to the Sultan, who had come to blows with the Rahamna.

At last a day arrived when we found ourselves face to face with the enemy. It was at Laonia-Ben-Sessi, at the river Tenseft, four hours distant from the capital. We found ourselves engaged in a combat which might have been fatal to us. It would, however, be out of place to give a history of it here. On that occasion we took some prisoners. On the third day a party from the Rahamna gave in their submission, and the others took to flight.

The struggle of those three days was a considerable one. The capital of Morocco was saved, and we made our entry into the city to the noisy sound of music and trumpets, and to the joy and contentment of all its inhabitants. Thus closed our second campaign, during which the artillery only fired fifteen shots, three shells, and seven bombs.

After thus having made myself acquainted, as a soldier, with

the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, I made up my mind to assume a different character. I applied for my discharge, which was refused me. I then took it on my own responsibility, and made my escape by a march of seven days across those endless plains under the beams of a burning sun in the month of August.

I may mention here a peculiarity of my journey; it is altogether of a personal nature, but I cannot pass it over in silence, as it refers to a man who is very well known on account of his explorations. As soon as I arrived at Morocco I met the German traveller, Gerhard Rholf. He had just come there, impelled exactly, like myself, by curiosity and by an adventurous spirit of enterprise. We had the same ideas, the same thoughts, the same sentiments; thus it was that very shortly we became quite intimate. We made up our scheme of persevering always on our way, and of sharing between ourselves any chances of success which might come. To ensure greater success, I chose for my part management of anything relating to military matters, whilst he was to undertake anything referring to the medical profession. In the course of a short time, however, we were unavoidably obliged to part from each other. Later on he wrote me a letter from Mogador, which, however, never reached me, inviting me to accompany him in the journey which he was making into the interior of Africa, and on which some time afterwards he had a narrow escape of losing his life. Afterwards he wrote me again, acquainting me with the success of this journey, and inviting me also to endeavour to go with him to Timbuctoo. Unfortunately, however, I was prevented from doing so, because I had already entered into certain engagements, and was on the eve of undertaking a journey to the Western Sahara.

Mr. Rholf is a man of soul, full of intelligence, and worthy of being esteemed. With scarcely any resources, and aided simply by his spirit and his enterprising ideas, he accomplished what many other travellers, with all their paraphernalia, never succeeded in doing. I was at that time at Rabat, and on the eve, as I have said, of a journey into the desert. For this purpose I assumed the character of a doctor, although the profession was altogether out of my line. I caused a certain supply of medicines to be prepared and put into a small chest, and, having taken charge of this little stock of chemicals, away I went.

I was accompanied by a servant. We reached Mogador, and it was not long before we found ourselves on the Atlas by the side of the ocean. We traversed Cape Guer, and, shortly afterwards, we perceived in the distance Agader, or Sainte-Croix, situated on the last summit of this long chain of mountains, where they end close to the sea. We arrived at length at Agader.

On the following day, however, suspicions arose among the inhabitants as to my person and intentions; they took up their

arms, seized me, and threatened to put me to death should I dare to go farther. In short, after a long quarrel, I succeeded in getting rid of them, their insults and threats, and lost no time in saving myself and making my way towards Mogador. I was determined to penetrate into the Sus. I had already arrived there, in fact, inasmuch as Agader belongs to that territory; but the unfortunate incident to which I have alluded obliged me to deviate from my course. It was necessary that I should return to Morocco, in order to traverse the Atlas, and make my way towards Tarodant. So we went back to Morocco, and then crossed the great plain which surrounds the capital and began to climb the Atlas on its most difficult side. There one passes suddenly from a perfectly level country to a very hilly one. However, we kept continually advancing, although but slowly, across small valleys and chains of hills on the borders of astounding precipices, continually surrounded by gigantic mountains. On some days we had heavy rainfalls, and we experienced extreme fatigue. Ascending here and descending there, and tumbling about, we at last reached Tarodant. My servant declined accompanying me beyond there, saying that he felt he had rolled quite far enough over the Atlas, and that he was determined he would not roll any more. I therefore engaged another, with whom I started from Tarodant on the southern side. At a distance of 3 kilometres from the city we traversed the Wad Sus. One can there easily perceive that this river runs to the south of Tarodant, and not north, as many make show. They must have confused the Wad Sus with the Wad Elonar, which runs by the other side of the city. I crossed the Sus country in various directions, notwithstanding that the Kabyles there had at that time revolted; and at the end of a certain time I reached Auguilmin, the capital of the Wad Noon.

I took up my abode at the residence of one of the territorial chiefs, El-Habib-Ben-Bairook, whose acquaintance afforded me the means of obtaining some very interesting data as to the country.

The Kabyles of the Wad Noon were then at war with those of the Azouafit. The armed country-people would frequently come to blows. They would quarrel, insult each other, and cry out for war, some gun-shots would occasionally be heard; but the matter never became serious.

I very soon made up my mind to make my way into the desert. I communicated my resolution to the chief, Ben-Bairook, who did not object to it, but, on the contrary, placed one of his black slaves and two servants at my disposal, to escort me. We started, solely relying on the will of God. On the first night we slept at Labiar, which is the last village to be met with until

you reach Timbuctoo, which is forty days' march distant. No more houses are to be seen, except one or two which may be found in the neighbourhood of this last-named city. Three days later we crossed the Wad Drâa. There we met the Bedouins from the other side of the river, who were making their escape towards Wad Noon, for fear of the Oulad-Machdouf, a powerful Kabyle of the desert, who give themselves up to brigandage throughout the country. This fact caused me a great deal of annoyance. I expected to find the Bedouins with their tents, and consequently something to eat, everywhere, as we had no provisions at all with us. We were thus about to find the country a complete desert; not a single soul would be able to offer us hospitality. I desired, however, to go on, if even at the risk of dying from hunger or of falling a victim to the brigands.

From one of the fugitive Kabyles that I met on the banks of the Wad Drâa I bought a sheep, which we slaughtered, taking the meat thereof with us; but we had only this meat, and nothing else. Each day we would cut a piece of it, cook it on the sand, over a fire we would light there, and so we would eat it, without a morsel of bread or a pinch of salt.

Two days later my people refused to accompany me any farther. We were then on the banks of the Saïba-Kharsa. I entered into negotiations with them; at last they consented to accompany me as far as the wells of the Wad Chebiaka, in order that we might provide ourselves with water—we found it very difficult to reach the spot. At a quarter of an hour's distance from this place we met forty or fifty armed men, some of them on foot and others mounted on camels, but all of them running towards us. It was then that the negro Bellal gave proofs of his courage. Had such a troop been composed of Oulad-Machdouf, we should have been irretrievably lost, as there were no means of hiding ourselves, or of resisting their numbers; but it happened that they belonged to a Kabyle who were friends to the Oulad-Dlim, and who during the night had attacked a portion of the Oulad-Machdouf, seizing thirty female camels, which they were taking with them. They advised us to hurry on towards the wells, as the enemy was close upon them. We did hurry ourselves, drank sufficiently of the water, filled our leathern bottles, and at a gallop put ourselves again upon our way.

It was necessary to go back to Auguilmin. However, the idea of penetrating farther on into the desert never abandoned me, and I determined to risk once more all the danger attached to it, even at the expense of leaving my corpse to remain buried in those mountains of sand.

I loaded a camel with some provisions, consisting mainly of flour, some oil, and dates; and, accompanied by the negro Bellal,

and the two servants besides, I started, quite prepared for anything that might happen, however sad it might be.

I was not able to give a full narrative of my difficulties in the course of such a march on account of the heat, the fatigue, and principally the thirst, along those plains and heaps of sand so extremely trying not only to mankind but even to animals. Not a single thing to be seen, only some stags, serpents, or snakes, of different sizes, and wild beasts ; and I only saw their footmarks on the sand.

We had already arrived at the height of the Ras Bouïbicha. In the midst of some sandy hills, we now and then met a small Kabyle ; they would be Oulad-Skarna, allies of the Oulad-Machdouf. Those Bedouins took me at first for a chief, a person held in the greatest estimation amongst them. They saluted me most respectfully, and loaded me with their benedictions ; but a young man belonging to the Oulad-Idrain, whom I had taken with me for the purpose of showing me the places where we could provide water, committed the imprudence of telling them that I was a Christian. That gave rise to some disputes and quarrels ; they decided that I should be put to death, and told me the fate that awaited me. However, they did not dare to carry out at once their plan, for this would have been to commit a breach of the laws of hospitality. I was to be met by somebody on the course of my journey. They promised two female camels and a gun to the person who would present my head. The danger was great, the soil being completely barren ; my only chance of escape would be to take to flight, and, as my days had not yet been numbered, I succeeded in running away amidst the dunes and hills of sand. My people followed me. We had to make a great detour through the dull and lonely plains, and thus we retired from our journey, it being impossible to go farther on.

We were journeying back towards the Wad Noon when one day we saw, in the distance, seven persons mounted on camels, who came trotting towards us. Doubtless they would prove to be some Oulad-Machdouf, or perhaps some of those Oulad-Skarna, who had attempted my life, and were now seeking for my head. Having arrived close to us, they alighted from their camels, loaded their guns, and prepared themselves for an attack. We were four men only. However, resolutely facing the situation, we prepared for resistance, confronting them with our guns loaded. After a lengthened parley, and much shouting, we ascertained that they were of the Oulad-Izargeen, one of the friendly Kabyles, who were endeavouring to fall upon some scattered fragments of the Oulad-Machdouf. We marched on our way together. On arriving at the Wad Drâa, I found it necessary to cross this river by swimming through the ford called Chammar, owing to the river being so swollen from the great

rainfall of the preceding days. We arrived at Auguilmin, and I undertook a further expedition in the direction of the coast, at the place where the river Bouissefen discharges its salt waters into the ocean. On my return to Auguilmin I bade farewell to El-Habib-Ben-Bairook, and then left for Mogador. Traversing the Sous, I still met some of the insurgent Kabyles, which delayed my march several days. From Mogador I went to Rabat, where I stayed the necessary time to put my travelling notes into order. At last I took passage on board a small ship which brought me to Spain.

I may state here, in parenthesis, that the captain of this vessel, a friend of mine, had been wrecked in the year 1862 on the coast of Tekna, at a place called Quina, and not only himself but all the crew fell into the hands of the Bedouins, and were sold by them as slaves to the chieftains of the Wad Noon.

What I have narrated is but a simple sketch of my travels, as it would be impossible to compress into a few pages all that I performed, saw, and had occasion to note in the course of my four years' travels and sojourn in Morocco.

APPENDIX B

GERHARD RHOLFS' TRAVELS TO SIGILMÂSA AND TAFILET

TAKEN FROM THE GERMAN "Z. D. BERLIN GES. F.
ERDKUNDE," 1877

THERE are many different suppositions about Sigilmâsa, and the name is spelt in various ways. The Arabian writers all spell it Sigilmasat, which, according to the system of transcription employed by the German Oriental Company, would be "Sigilmâsa." The French way of writing it is "Sedjelmaça." When Leo Africanus spells it "Segelmessa," the Italian pronunciation of the letter "g" must be remembered. But how Dapper can write "Sugelmesse" (probably in imitation of De la Croix or Marmol) is all the more inexplicable, as the whole theory (explanation ?) of Dapper is founded upon Leo. It is certain, beyond a doubt, that the Romans did not penetrate as far as Sigilmâsa, or Tafilét. At least, no traditions of such a campaign have been handed down to us ; and as long as no Roman buildings, or even inscriptions, are discovered (as, for example, at Rhadames), we must be content with this negative proof.

According to Pliny, a certain Suetonius Paulinus (whom Pliny speaks of as consul) went a few miles beyond the Atlas range. "The lower part was covered with dense and lofty woods, the trees were of unknown species, very tall, smooth, and shining, from which art might manufacture good clothing, like silk. The summits of the mountains were covered with deep snow, even in summer. He passed through deserts of black sand, scattered here and there with rock, which had a burnt appearance ; and he passed through districts which, on account of the burning heat, must be uninhabitable even in winter. Farther on he reached a river named Ger." So says Pliny, Book VI.

As at the present we come to the river Ger by the most accessible pass which leads over the Atlas Mountains, we have no reason to doubt the truth of the narrative of Pliny. When I crossed the Atlas at one of its highest points, I perceived two roads at

Tisint-el-Rint. One led to Taflet direct, which I took ; the other leading to Ued Ger, which Suetonius Paulinus took, and which probably was purposely pointed out to him, so that he and his cohorts should not pass through a fertile and thickly inhabited district. Had he taken the western road, he would have come to Taflet, and perhaps we then would have known the name of that great oasis in those days.

For, although many names of places remain unaltered, as "Ger," for example, others change very often or disappear completely, and are replaced by fresh ones. And this is the case with Sigilmâsa. None of the people know now what Sigilmâsa is. Its fate is the same as that of the ancient Volubilis, which was one of the most important cities in the interior of Morocco under the Romans, but which is no longer remembered in the land ; even the designation Valili has been replaced by that of Serone.

How long Sigilmâsa (which dates from the year 140 of the Hegira) bore the name of Taflet cannot be proved ; but that Taflet is a more recent name, and was used together with Sigilmâsa, that finally the latter became quite obsolete, is proved beyond a doubt by different descriptions of travels.

The more ancient Arabic writers only use the name Sigilmâsa. Bekri, who died 1094, only knew this name—also Tacut, Edrisi, and Abulfeda. Ibu Baluta, who died 1377, speaks (vol. iv., p. 371) of the town Sigilmâsa ; but at the same time the word *Filâli* is to be found in his writings, which denotes a man born in Taflet. These are the earliest times when Taflet is mentioned, as far as I can discover. We find the most detailed description of Sigilmâsa in Bekri's *Kitab el Magrib* ("Description of the West"). Four hundred years later Leo Africanus, who made his journeys at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, gives us interesting descriptions of this town. He does not mention the name Taflet, or Tafielt. Leo says :

"Segelmessa is a province, named after its capital. It lies on the river Ziz, beginning at the pass near the town Gersehein, and extending 120 Arabic miles south to the borders of the Libyan desert. It is peopled by various barbaric tribes—the Zeneta, Zanhadscha, and Hoara. Formerly it had its own lord ; later on it was governed by the King of Luntuna, Joseph, then by the Muahidin, and then it came under the sway of the kings of Merinis. At length the inhabitants rebelled, and the result was the destruction of their town, which has remained deserted up to the present day. The inhabitants have assembled together again, and have built several large castles and villages, which are partly free and partly under the dominion of the Arabs."

After Leo has thus spoken generally of Sigilmâsa, he names the principality of Chenez, which is in the same latitude as the above-

mentioned, and lies on the Gers. It is watered by the Sis, and extends farther south. That this is the case is proved by the names which exist at present. But now only the northern part is called Chenez: "a portion of this principality which extends for 40 miles," is now called Tialah, or Telalcin. That the "Chenez" mentioned by Leo borders immediately on his Segelmessa, or rather is a part of it, is clearly seen from the words: "Some of the inhabitants are of Arabian origin, some belong to the town Gerselum. And we shall find that the Ksar Tamaroks of which I spoke are the same as Leo's Tamarakrost. Leo, continuing his description, says: "Matgarra, another principality, borders in the south upon the former; it lies outside the pass, and has many castles on the river Zis." Then the African describes another principality of the name of Retel, which joins Matgarra, and which extends along the river Zis in a southerly direction as far as the territory of Segelmessa. Naturally, there is no doubt that Leo's Matgarra and Retel correspond entirely in name, position, and in the very sequence which he has so far observed with the oases Mdaghra and Ertib described by me. Leo continues, p. 455: "Though I have already stated the most valuable facts concerning the province Segelmessa, still I must add something about this territory. It extends 20 miles from north to south along the river Ziz, and contains, besides several small villages, about 350 castles and villages of considerable size." This completely corresponds to existing circumstances. As we have to-day a Taflet comprising all the principalities bordering on the Sis, from its source to Daza-el-Daura (but under the name Taflet specially designating the southern province), so it was at that time when Leo described this oasis—with this difference, that the name then used was Sigilmâsa.

When Leo had crossed the Atlas Mountains, he was told he had reached Sigilmâsa along the Ger and Sis; then, when he arrived at Taflet proper, south of Mdaghra, he was again told that he had reached Sigilmâsa. Any one who has travelled amongst the Arabs knows how confusing in this respect are the assertions of even the most intelligent amongst them. They call the whole land Bled El Fes—also one single town; they call the whole of Turkey Bled Stambul—also one special town goes by that name, etc. And the same thing happened to me when I came to Taflet. When the pass Tisint El Rint lay behind me, I was told I had reached Taflet; afterwards, having wandered through Mdaghra, Ertel, etc., I reached at last Taflet proper. It is no misprint when Leo says (p. 453) that Sigilmâsa is 120 miles long, and on page 455 that it extends only 20 miles north and south along the river Sis. He is speaking first of the more extensive, then of the smaller Taflet.

Amongst the other towns mentioned by Leo, his Tenegent (to

be pronounced as in Italian—Tenedjent) is easily to be identified with the province Tannigent mentioned by me. His Tebuhasant is my Tanassaut in the province Sfalet, and his Mamun is to be found in Beni Mimussmta-Schurf, or in Beni Mimun-mta Horror. The latter place would probably correspond to that mentioned by Leo, for he says of his Mamun: "It is large and strong, well peopled by Dervish and Moorish merchants." I believe, therefore, that Mimun-mta Horror is the Mamun of Leo, because in Mimun-mta-es-Shusfa no Jews are permitted to enter. It is also interesting that Leo expressly speaks of a town Segelmessa in a principality of this name, p. 457. The town Segelmessa itself, as some of our historians inform us, was founded by a Roman general, who, they say, came on a campaign from Mauritania, conquered the whole of Numidia, and came west as far as Messe. He built this town, and called it *Sigillum Messæ*, because it was the last in the state Messa, and at the same time was a seal of the completion of his victory, and this name afterwards was corrupted into Segelmesse. The general opinion is that of our "earth-describer," Bekri, viz. that the town was built by Alexander the Great for the sick and crippled of his army; but I consider that false, for no historian tells us that Alexander visited these parts. Leo then gives a general description of the town, and adds, "Now the town is quite desolate, and the inhabitants dwell, as already described, in the neighbouring castles and villages. I myself have spent seven consecutive months in the Castle of Mamun." Thus Leo himself never saw the town Segelmesse; but that a town of that name existed is clear, for the Batuta speaks of a "*Medinat Sigilmassa*."

The sayings of travellers who have visited these lands themselves are most important to us when considering the oasis and the names Sigilmâsa and Tafilet. About a hundred years later we have a detailed description, by Marmol, who accompanied Charles V. in his campaign against Tunis, was taken prisoner, came to Morocco, and passed through the whole land to Seggia, visiting Tafilet also.

Marmol, who spells it Sugulmesse, gives on the whole the same description as Leo, so that one is almost tempted to say he has copied from the traveller. But what gives a special value to the description of Marmol is that he is the first European who uses the name Sugulmesse to denote the town Tafilet.

"It is a large town of Numidia, built by the ancient Africans in a sandy desert. It is enclosed by walls, and has a fortress on one side. It is peopled by more than 2,000 Berbers, who are called Filalâer: rich and very clever people, who have the best dates of Numidia, many camels, and other herds. Beautiful round shields are made here out of buffalo-hides, and out of the skins of other animals found in Libya or Numidia.

"All the dates which go to Spain come from this place, because the shereef does not permit them to be taken from elsewhere. This town lies on the borders of the Sahara, and there exists a passage to Fez across the higher Atlas. Formerly the town was much disturbed by the attacks of Arabs from the desert, and one of their chiefs ruled over it; but in the later days the shereef conquered it with the help of artillery, as we have said in chap. xxxx. t. 11."

Marmol says, in this chapter, that the shereefs besieged the town Tafilet, in Numidia, 1508.

Thus we perceive quite clearly that Marmol is talking of a town Tafilet in the oasis-district of Sigilmâsa, whilst the town Sigilmâsa, which Leo said was destroyed, certainly was not rebuilt. For Marmol says expressly: "This province Sugulmesse takes its name from the capital, and is watered by the Siz. But the Almoraviden, and then Almohaded, conquered it. When at length, under the Meriniden, its lord rebelled and was slain, the capital and all the important places of the province were destroyed. Then Tenequent was built close to Sugulmesse, as well as Tebasant and Mamun. Marmol describes the ruins of the town Sugulmesse.

After the lapse of another hundred years we again have some descriptions of travels, where Sigilmâsa is mentioned, *i.e.* by Abn Salem El Aïascha, published in a French translation of Berbrugger in the *Explorations Scientifiques de l'Algérie*. After Abn Salem El Aïascha in 1653 and 1694 had visited Mecca, he undertook in 1661 a third journey in the highest points of the Atlas, where he found himself at the sources of the Muluga and Ger. Descending the Ger, he came to Tuat, Urgla, Tugurt, Tripoli, etc., and on his return he passed through Biscera, l'Aghouat, Ain Madhi, Figig, etc.

Meanwhile, let us follow Aïascha on his wanderings to Sigilmâsa, and we shall find that he pursued just the same route that I took. After the pilgrim had spent a night in Tischat, he encamped the following day at Tialali (Tialalin). The previous day he had written in his diary: "The only thing which disturbed us was that we were late for the caravans awaiting us in Sigilmâsa." Aïascha spent the day at Tialali, in a *ksor* of the name of Beni Otman, and, after leaving the *ksor*, arrived the same evening, about 5 o'clock, at the grave of Iman Muley-Abd-Allahben-Tohar-el Haçani in Mdghra. The following day he reached Ertib (Uadi-el-Ertib).

After he had left Ertib, where he slept in the *sanga* Sid-Ahmedben-Abd-es-Sadak (corresponding either to my Sanga Kedaina or Sanga Djedida), he continues: "We journeyed the whole day, and arrived about evening at Sigilmâsa. I descended from my horse at Mesalla-el-Aid, outside the *kasbah* of this town." Here

Aïascha distinctly calls Sigilmâsa a town, and it certainly must have been large, since he speaks of a *mesalla*. Then these are only to be found in the neighbourhood of populous towns. At certain feasts—for example, Aid-el-Kebir, or also Aid-es-Serkir, at the close of Ramadan—the whole people pray together, and no mosque in the world would be large enough to contain all the people of a considerable town.

Aiascha goes on: "I found the caravans outside Sigilmâsa, encamped at Rhorfa, where they had waited some time."

Rhorfa was apparently a place at some distance from the town, where the "Menach" was situated.

On the 10th of Rebi-et-tani Aiascha writes: "I left Sigilmâsa on the 10th Rebi-et-tani, and just left the town when the caravan had started. When I crossed the place of encampment I no longer found anybody." It is not necessary to follow Aiascha any farther, although his later stations in respect of name and method of spelling quite correspond to my own. But we shall return to this later.

In the travels of Aiascha we see, therefore, that in 1661 a town Sigilmâsa is mentioned. But he names Taflet also. He says in his journal at Tuat: "The worth of the common metkal among the people of this land is 24 mosonât. But they have another metkal of 40 mosonât, which they call scherifs, after their prince, the shereef, lord of Sigilmâsa, of which their land is a dependency." And then: "As the price [worth?] of money was very high in Taflet, most of the pilgrims resolved to take some in Tuat, where it was very low. Also the pilgrims had not all bought their provisions in Taflet, because they were too dear; so now they had to procure them in Tuat." Later on Aiascha says, on his way back, whilst staying at Figig, "And now we finally bade farewell to the people of Marakasch and Taflet."

Now let us turn to a later traveller, the celebrated Iman Muley Ahmed, who on July 29, 1709, began his journey, starting from Tamagrut, and returned on October 17, 1710. After Mula Ahmed has related that once, several years before, he had gone in vain to Sigilmâsa, being obliged to give up his pilgrimage at the command of the Sultan Ismael, he says, as he again re-enters the desert: "We start on Saturday, intending to go to Sigilmâsa, and visit the pious people of this town." Then, further on: "Sidi Ahmed El Meschtuk, who was in our caravan, composed a poem in praise of Sigilmâsa, in which he praises the people of the town, and the grand reception awaiting the caravan. Since we can clearly see, from the two passages quoted above, that a town Sigilmâsa is in question, in case Berbrugger in the original text had "medina," and not "Oled," out of the following passage, we may conclude with equal certainty that Muley Ahmed meant the *territory* when he used the name Sigilmâsa. Immediately

afterwards he says: "During my pilgrimage in 1109 (1697) I visited the grave of Muley Ali Schereef with some of my friends."

When I myself reached Taflet, I thought it one of my first duties to visit the grave of Muley Ali Scherif. It lies in the open country, one hour's walk south-east of Abuam, in the province Ifi. Thus our Arabian traveller extended the name Sigilmâsa to the whole province. And in another passage he does so still more clearly. On the 16th of Djumad-el-Tani, he writes in his diary: "The land Sigilmâsa suffered from a terrible drought."

Although we infer, from these quotations, that a *town* Sigilmâsa existed at that time, in case, as said before, that Berbrugger has translated correctly; but we also see distinctly that both town and principality were thus designated without distinction. Thus there is a complete unanimity between the two travellers, inasmuch that, as long as they are dwelling in Taflet, they only speak of Sigilmâsa, but, after getting beyond, they no longer employ the word. Thus we find in the diary of Muley Ahmed in Figig on 26th and 27th Djumad-el-Tani: "I bought better barley here than in Taflet for 3 mosona a mudd"; and a little farther on, "The pilgrims bought raiment, and paid the Arabian camel-drivers who had come from Taflet to Figig." Farther on he says, whilst staying at Ain Madhi, "The caravans before mentioned came, and the 'sheikh' of the pilgrims from Fez and the Emir of the Filalün; that is, the pilgrims of Taflet." Why does not our traveller again say, "The pilgrims from Sigilmâsa"?

It is still more remarkable that, when Mula Ahmed had again returned to Sigilmâsa, he did not once again make use of that name. Naturally the camp was again pitched where it had stood on the journey thither—at the grave of Sid Jussuf. But when the pilgrims quitted the oasis, Mula Ahmed says nothing of Sigilmâsa, but "We bade farewell to our friends at Taflet."

Although, perchance, many descriptions of travels written by hand are hidden in the libraries of North Africa, which would give us clearer facts about the double use of Taflet and Sigilmâsa, at present we still have accounts of travellers who have visited these oases themselves. We still must speak of the travels of Ahmed Ibn El Hassan El Matjuwi, those of Reni Caillie, and my own.

"Ahmed Ibn El Hassan El Matjuwi, whom God protect, made this journey in the year 1201 of the Hegira, from Fez to the country of Taflet, in the reign of the ruler of the faithful, Muley Mahommed, son of Muley Abdallah."

From his travels, which were translated from the Arabic by the then important oriental professor, Dr. Paulus, into Latin, and again retranslated into French by Walkenaer, we learn that the name Sigilmâsa no longer occurred at the end of the eighteenth century.

"On the 11th day," he says, "we reached a village called Tsetzimi; that is where the territory of Taflet begins." He then mentions the places Sabbah, Daroubbeida (my Dar-el-beidah), then Erisani (my Rissani), and then says, "which also bears the name of Ebou-Amm" (my Abuam).

Reni Caille also never heard of a Sigilmâsa. The other names mentioned by him are correct, and, with unimportant differences, correspond to mine. He visited Taflet in 1824—thirty-seven years later than Ibn El Hassan, and about a hundred years later than Mula Ahmed. Gräberg von Hemsö then speaks of a Spanish architect, D. Blas Aguilar, whose acquaintance he had made in Tangier. He had been in Sigilmâsa, and, according to him, Sigilmâsa was more the name of a province than of a town. Gräberg and Jackson strictly separate Taflet from Segelmesse, Sugilmasa, or even Segumessa, and say that it was formerly the capital of an independent kingdom, but was now merely a town in a district of Taflet.

In a work entitled "Sedjelmaça," in vol. ix. of the *Explorations Scientifiques de l'Algérie*, Berbrügger has attempted to draw the following conclusions from the diaries of Aïascha and Mula Ahmed :

"Mr. Walkenaer has quite correctly proved the identity of the valleys of Taflet and Sedjelmaça, and Mr. Avezac has brought forward new proofs to support this opinion. The only thing necessary now is to locate the latter town in Wad Ziz. I believe it lay south-east, at a little distance from Taflet."

Meanwhile, in opposition to the fact that the names Sigilmâsa and Taflet have been employed for more than one hundred years to designate one and the same locality, the proofs brought forward by Berbrügger of the existence of two towns, separated at some distance from each other, are not sufficient. And when he says (p. 35) : "Besides, if these two towns (meaning Taflet and Sigilmâsa) had been identified as one locality, Mula Ahmed would not have said that he took leave of his friends of Taflet at the gates of Sigilmâsa." But this is a little slip of Berbrügger. For, as said before, after his return Mula Ahmed no longer uses the name Sigilmâsa, but, according to Berbrügger's own translation, he says, "We took leave of our friends at Taflet"; but there is nothing about "at the gates of Sigilmâsa."

From Berbrügger's representation we get a picture of the Ziz Valley, as given by Gräberg von Hemsö in the map accompanying his work.

And now, from all which we have so far learnt about Taflet and Sigilmâsa, we may sum up as follows :

There existed from the time of Leo a town of the name of Sigilmâsa, after which the whole valley watered by the Ziz was named, and especially the district south of the Tissimi as far as

Daya-el-Daura. The town was destroyed; the district kept the name a considerable time. When the shereefs ruled, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Sigilmâsa was subject to them, and their capital was in a place called Gasr-el-Filal, *Castrum Filalense*, or Taflet. As the name Sigilmâsa had formerly extended over the whole land, so now that of Taflet. The circumstance that the shereef of Taflet ascended the throne of Morocco perhaps caused that the town and the neighbouring country should first be called Taflet, and then the whole Ziz Valley.

We can in no way be surprised that Aïascha and Mula Ahmed speak of Sigilmâsa on their journey thither. These two learned men simply made use of the name which was assigned to the later so-called Taflet in the historical and geographical writings of the Arabs, and with which they were familiar by reading this literature. Thus we speak of a town Babylon, although it is there called El-Hillah; likewise Jerusalem, Damascus, Byauz, although these towns have long been called El-Koder, Schâm, and Stambul. And thus, like other learned men, the two travellers spoke of Sigilmâsa. But as soon as they got farther, and had to do with the people living in the oasis, they no longer speak of Sigilmâsa, but Taflet. At that time the peasants no longer knew of Sigilmâsa. Thus they no longer speak of the people of Sigilmâsa, but of Taflet: "We took leave of our people of Taflet," says Mula Ahmed. Ibn Hassan, Reni Caillie, and myself heard nothing of Sigilmâsa; the name has completely fallen into disuse.

Whilst I was staying there, I attached no importance to the matter, but I feel sure that one might gain information from the learned people of the place, or from the old chronicles, as to when the name Taflet superseded Sigilmâsa. As in Ibn El Hassan's time no town, but only a district Taflet existed, probably the place was destroyed. The large ruin-field of Amra is probably the old Sigilmâsa, and more recent Taflet. The ruin-field lies west of Rissani and north of Abuam. The great ruin of the mosque, the gigantic buildings, all stamp it as the remains of the former capital.

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